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AUTHOR Schneider, Jo Anne
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ABSTRACT

The Social Network Study was conducted in 1996 as part of a larger research project that looked at the experience of men and women with different racial, ethnic, educational backgrounds, and career paths in the Philadelphia labor market. Data were gathered through a survey focused on the relationship between work experience, training, and the people and organizations that welfare recipients use as resources to find jobs and educational programs. Questionnaires were collected from 338 people currently enrolled in nine training programs or community colleges. The study found that the majority of the respondents had completed high school or a high school equivalency program, had extensive work experience, and had worked in a variety of mostly lower-level jobs. Work experience varied dramatically across race, nationality, gender, education, and marital status. About 83 percent had attended a training program, with more persons of color than whites attending. Conclusions of the study included the following: (1) the population on public assistance is very diverse; (2) the low-wage and welfare populations are largely interchangeable, depending on who currently has employment; (3) combining work, training, and appropriate social supports works best; (4) a high school diploma or equivalent is an essential first step to escape poverty; (5) different kinds of training work best for different populations; (6) enriching social networks through mentoring or buddy programs helps some people improve their situations; and (7) policy makers need to work with nonprofit subcontractors to design appropriate evaluation procedures and incentive structures. (KC)

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SOCIAL NETWORKS, CAREER AND TRAINING PATHS FOR PARTICIPANTS IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

Technical Report

Jo Anne Schneider

May 1997

Report Prepared for the Philadelphia Private Industry Council

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If you have questions about this report, please contact the author at:

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Wisconsin-Parkside
900 Wood Road
P.O. Box 2000
Kenosha, WI 53141-2000

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SOCIAL NETWORKS, CAREER AND TRAINING PATHS FOR PARTICIPANTS IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS
Executive Summary: Technical Report

The Social Network Study was conducted in 1996 as part of a larger research project looking at the experiences of men and women with different racial, ethnic, educational backgrounds and career paths in the Philadelphia labor market. This study was conducted with the cooperation of the Private Industry Council of Philadelphia (PIC) and a number of training providers in the Philadelphia area as a project of the *Institute for the Study of Civic Values* (ISCV). The social network survey focused on the relationship between work experience, training, and the people and organizations which welfare recipients use as resources in order to find jobs and educational programs. Questionnaires were collected from 338 people currently enrolled in nine training programs or community college.

This report includes a detailed summary of findings from the Social Network study. It is designed as a supplement to a policy report using these data prepared for the *21st Century League* which focuses on ways to aid government, training providers and employers working with public assistance recipients moving from welfare to work.

Demographic Characteristics

Age: Most of the people in this study were working age:

18-21	9%
22-25	39%
36-45	28%
over 45	6%

Gender: 16% male, 84% female. More African American's (88%) and Latinos (82%) were women then whites (68%) and Asians (40%).

Race:

African American	74%
White	16%
Latino	7%
Native American	1%
Asian	2%
Biracial	1%

Present Source of Income: Only 6 percent of this population had never been on welfare. Most were presently on welfare:

Welfare	83%
Job	10%
Spouse/family	5%
Other	3%

For those currently on welfare, statistics mirrored the national welfare figures:

Under 1 year	22%
1-3 yrs	28%
3-5 yrs	22%
5-10 yrs	15%
Over 10 yrs	12%

High School Education: The majority of the people in this study had completed high school or a GED: 56% finished high school, 39% of those who had not completed high school finished a GED, 68% had a diploma or GED.

Work Experience: The majority of study participants had extensive work histories.
Number of jobs: 13% had never worked, 42% had held 1 or 2 jobs, 45% 3 or more

Major types of jobs: The study measured overall work experience patterns and then looked at experience over time. The most common jobs held by study participants were as follows:

Cashier	36%
Data entry or clerical	27%
Nursing assistant	17%
Sales	13%
Security guard	10%
Factory worker or driver	23%
Maintenance	10%
Restaurant work	19%
Professional or professional entry level	9%

Length of time on the job (ever held a job this amount of time): under 6 months 41%, 6-11 months 42%, 1-2 years 48%, 2-5 years 36%, more than 5 years 17%

Employed full time 77% **Employed part time** 45%
Held a job which provided health insurance 42%

How found job: Friends/family 65%, Training program or DPW 17%, Newspaper 27%, walked in 38%, Unemployment office 4%, school 3%, temp agency 1%

Work Experience Patterns: Work experience varied dramatically across race, nationality, gender, education and marital status. In general, people fell into the following categories:

- **Limited or no work experience**. In addition to the 13% of the study population who had never held a job, another 10% had only held one job for less than a year, adding up to 23% with limited work experience. This group tended to have been on welfare longer: 71% had been on welfare 3 years or more. There was no difference across race,

nationality or having completed a high school diploma but the majority of the people in this category were women who had never married. However, Latinas were the largest percentage who had never worked at 18%.

- **Low skill workers:** This group includes men and women with no high school diploma or limited skills who go from low skilled job to low skilled job. Job categories include mostly low end service and semi-skilled helping professions. This group primarily includes women of color. They work more jobs and leave them more quickly: between 40% and 68% of people in various kinds of low wage jobs left by 6 months and the majority changed jobs within 2 years. They left primarily because of the nature of the work (low wages, hours, part-time): 38% who left first jobs in six months or less left because the job was temporary or part-time, child care or family problems. Forty-one percent left second jobs for the same reason.

- **Displaced workers:** This group fell into two categories. The first included white and African American men who worked in good paying factory or blue collar jobs. The second group included African American, Latina and white women with high school diplomas and high quality training, often clerical training. People stay in these jobs: between 60% and 75% held their first job for 5 years or more.

- **Migrants and refugees:** Newcomers to the U.S. included mostly Puerto Rican citizens and refugees. These groups fell into two subgroups: highly educated and skilled people who needed to learn the language and gain U.S. mainland experience and people with low skills and limited education.

Post-Secondary Education Experience

Most people in this study had gone to a training program before entering the activity where they were currently enrolled. **83 percent had attended a training program**: 38 percent one, 33 percent two, 12 percent three or more.

Program attendance did vary for whites and people of color. Eighty-five percent of African Americans and Latinos had attended a training program compared to sixty-eight percent for whites. African Americans took many more programs than other groups. Forty-eight percent of African Americans compared to 28 percent for whites and 25 percent for Latinos took more than one program. As discussed in the social network section, African Americans and established Latinos have more access to training programs than whites due to low income and the familiarity of these groups in using social service systems.

In current programs, African Americans predominated in mandatory job development (83%), job specific skills programs (88%), and the shelter (90%), compared to mandatory community service (25%), feeders (62%) and college (55%). Forty-three percent of the people in this sample in mandatory community service were white, 25 percent in feeders, 26 percent college, and under 11 percent for the shelter and JSS programs. Latinos also were found in the mandatory

community service programs (18%), feeders (11%), college (8%), but only 4 percent of the job specific skills enrollees. This shows that Latinos were not being served by the job specific skills training network. It also shows that whites were less likely to participate in the PIC funded training program system. Whites and Asians were served by the community college and tuition based training systems while Latinos were left out of training altogether.

Loans: 53 percent had taken out loans, 57 percent for more than $2,000, 26 percent for $500-2,000, 75 percent still owed and 64 percent of those were in default. There was not a significant difference between men and women on the number that had loans or the amount. However, 52 percent of men versus 79 percent of women still owed on those loans. Sixty-eight percent of women's loans were in default compared to 39 percent for men. There was no difference in loan or default rates among various races and nationalities.

Major types of training programs taken: The study measured participation in training programs in two ways. First, information on the number of people who had ever taken a course in a particular subject were counted. Overall, the following percentages of the people in this study and ever taken courses in these topics:

Data/clerical	34%
Skilled trades	13%
College	16%
Nursing assistant or home health aid	20%
Business	17%
GED/ABE	14%
Job Preparation	13%

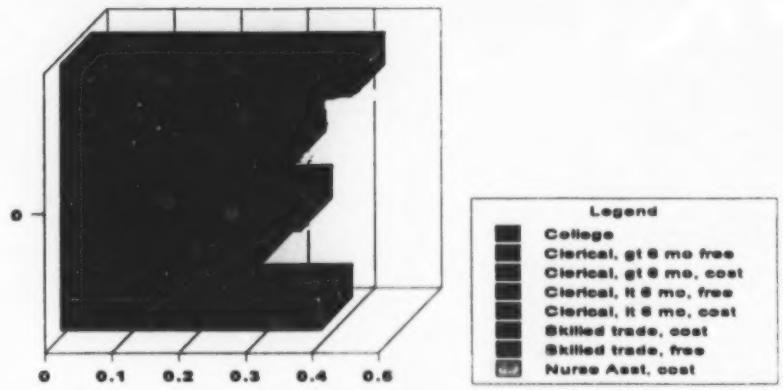
Program led to a job: Overall, program participants stated that their training led to a job 30 percent of the time. The program did not lead to a job 40 percent of the time.

Comparing Free and Tuition Based Programs: After looking at general patterns, the various types of programs were combined into the following categories:

GED/Job Prep: GED and job preparation courses were under 6 months and free to participants
Nursing assistant/foodservice, 3-12 mo, free
Nurse assistant/foodservice, 3-12 mo cost
Skilled trade/security/ hair styling, Greater than 6 mo, free
Skilled trade/security/hair styling, Greater than 6 mo, cost
Clerical/business,Less than 6 mo, cost
Clerical/business, Less than 6 mo, free
Clerical/business, Greater than 6 mo, cost
Clerical/business, Greater than 6 mo free
College

Drop-Out Rates: There is a dramatic difference in drop out rates between tuition based and cost programs. For the first program, drop out rates for tuition based programs range from 39 percent for nursing assistant programs to 30 percent for skilled trades. The only free job specific skills program that reported students who did not finish the program was skilled trades (22%). College had the highest retention problems, with a 44 percent drop out rate. Drop out rates for GED/Job Prep programs were 21 percent for the first program.

Drop Out Rate: Training Program 1



How participant heard about the program (overall): Family and Friends 31%, DPW or employment office 16%, Social service agency/PIC 22%, School 10%, TV or radio advertisement 20%

Ever held a job related to the training program: Data clerical 29%, skilled trades 26%, nursing assistant 43%, Food service 53%

Relationship of training to previous work experience: People with various demographic and work experience characteristics used training in very different ways. This section discusses those patterns. Analysis included comparing the demographic clusters to general work and training experience and looking at time lines for work and training experience for people with different backgrounds. Findings for this section can be summarized as follows:

- Approximately 2/3rds of people who were in low end service positions before their first training program returned to similar positions. After a second training program, half remained in low end service and half went into part-time, low wage helping profession jobs. Particularly for people without high school diplomas, training meant nursing assistant or food service programs or multiple GED programs. This population appeared to be on a "training track" which led nowhere.

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- People with entry-level clerical work experience went into training in either clerical or helping professions (nurses aid, childcare, teacher's aids). The training often translated into related jobs.

- People with previous work experience in helping professions got training in those professions. Training translated into full time, decent paying training related jobs primarily for those with high school diplomas.

- Employment in high paid, blue collar jobs had no relationship to training.

Training and Work Experience Patterns:
Repeaters: Eleven percent of the study population took more than two training programs. This group included only African Americans, whites and established Latinos. African Americans take the most training programs. Repeaters fell into two subpopulations:

- Low skill workers or those with minimal work experience who continue to use training unsuccessfully to better their situation. More of these people are referred to training by the department of public welfare and agencies than for other populations. Many of these people also found training through television advertising. There is a 4 to 6 year gap between first and second training programs, but between 0 and 2 years for later programs.

- Displaced workers who used training initially to find stable jobs and then return to training after being laid off. As with other displaced workers, retraining after losing a job seldom leads to stable employment.

Low skill workers: People with limited work experience or without a high school diploma sought training in semi-skilled helping professions, clerical or blue collar trades. People without high school diplomas primarily sought training in semi-skilled helping professions. Training often led back to similar employment or into jobs which required some skills like nursing assistant but which were often part-time and paid badly. People without high school diplomas seldom were able to translate training into good jobs: 86% of the people who found moderate wage, full time nursing assistant positions with health care had a high school diploma.

People who use training as a step up in the labor market. This group primarily includes people of color, primarily African Americans and a few established Latino/as. Most people in this group are women. These people have finished high school and may have some previous related work experience before entering training. They take 6 to 12 month training programs, often clerical which eventually translate into good paying jobs. Some return to college or another related skills training program to get additional training in their field.

Displaced workers: In general, training for displaced workers did little to return them to stable employment. Particularly for people previously employed in factory or skilled trades, training had nothing to do with their previous work experience. Instead, training reflected the choices available through the training provider network and/or supposed growth industries like

computers and health care. However, since training was short term, the programs were primarily for semi-skilled helping professions or clerical/data entry. Retraining often meant work at much lower wage rates without benefits. Many found training through a social service agency. This group fell into two subgroups.

- Whites, primarily men who received no training before entering the labor force or who went into apprentice programs out of high school. This group also included white women who had obtained good clerical training in high school. After working for most of their careers, they returned to training as a means to reenter the labor force after their company closed or left town.
- People of color, primarily African Americans and some established Latino/as who used training early in their careers to gain entry into good jobs. After being displaced, they return for more training. For women, this often means "brushing up" clerical skills by learning computerized data processing in short term courses. Many men take similar courses or 6 month training programs. The brush up courses seldom lead to good, stable jobs.

Migrants and refugees: This group took fewer training programs, often English as a Second Language sometimes followed by a skills training program. They were rarely placed into jobs by the training programs. Jobs were found through family and friends.

Performance Based Contracts versus Tuition Payments in Program Outcomes: Most of the training documented in this study occurred during the time that the PIC funded training for agencies without a Commonwealth set tuition rate as performance based cost reimbursement contracts with a hold back of 30 percent pending job placement. Agencies working under contract with the PIC had to pay close attention to meeting their placement goals in order to receive full funding for their contract. Contracting pressures clearly affect placement strategies for PIC funded programs. Programs had 90 days to find their participants work which paid $6.00 an hour, full time, preferably with health insurance. Given the labor market, agencies often found themselves choosing between placing people into part-time, training related employment or full time unrelated jobs with similarly poor wages and working conditions.

For many programs working with participants with limited previous work experience, and working against the cultural prejudices of moving inner-city people of color into "mainstream" jobs, their graduates too often found the same kinds of employment that they were attempting to escape.

Participants with better preparation were placed in better jobs. Eighty-seven percent of the people in well paid, full time nursing assistant positions had high school diplomas. Qualitative data suggests that this finding is due to the fact that employers are more willing to take a risk on someone with basic educational credentials. However, participants without high school diplomas placed into lower wage or part-time nursing assistant programs out of free programs were able to move up into the moderate wage jobs. Only 68 percent of the people in these good nursing assistant programs as their second job out of a free training program had a high school diploma.

This suggests that placing people without high school in a part-time nursing assistant job may be a better long term strategy than placement into unrelated positions.

Both free and tuition based clerical programs were often able to serve as career paths for their participants. Starting with people with better basic skills, they were able to place participants into entry-level, full time jobs without health insurance. Many of these people were able to move up into better jobs. The same pattern was true for the greater than six month tuition based programs and free programs, showing the variability in quality and participant characteristics among tuition based programs.

These findings on job placements show performance based contracts do impact on the performance of contractors. This study suggests that the free programs put much more energy into placements. They also suggest that letting the market rule the training choices for low wage workers often leads to disaster as people lacking the social networks and other tools to evaluate training programs often simply end up with huge debts which place further burden on government guarantee associations. But limiting non-profit agency payments and demanding short-term placement goals for populations needing long term assistance and follow-up also has unintended negative effects. The types of performance goals stipulated in these JTPA and JOBS funded programs work for populations prepared to benefit from training, but do not help those most needing to escape poverty.

Conclusions:

- **Diverse populations need diverse solutions**

The first clear finding is that the population on public assistance is extremely diverse. Each population needs different kinds of support to stay in the paid labor force.

- **The low wage and welfare populations are largely interchangeable depending on who currently has employment**

The study also highlights the fact that in many cases the population working in low wage or even working class jobs is interchangeable with the population on welfare. Given that 94 percent of the people in this study had been on public assistance at some time in their lives, and that 87 percent had worked for wages as adults, policy makers and program developers can not assumes that this population simply needs training for appropriate jobs or work experience.

- **Combining work, training and appropriate social supports works best**

Since most of the people in this study had gone through multiple training programs, it is also not safe to assume that training alone is the answer. The second major finding is that appropriate training, combined with appropriate work experience and solid basic skills leads to long term, stable employment. This finding suggests that the best strategy for all programs is to create

experiences that combine all three factors. The best option is not work **or** training, but work **and** training.

- **A high school diploma or GED is an essential first step to escape poverty**

People without a high school diploma need to finish a GED as a first step toward stable employment. This study shows that those without high school diplomas have limited training options and even more limited employment opportunities. However, given the difficulties in completing a GED, combining GED preparation with appropriate work experience and related skills training may be a better option than simply expecting people to complete a GED before entering training or finding a good job.

- **Different kinds of training work best for different populations**

The high drop out rate for college shows that many of the people in this population are not prepared to succeed in a college environment. The fact that many college graduates found work in fields unrelated to their training also shows that college may not be the best choice for all low income people. However, college did make a significant difference for some people in this population. This suggests that college should be one option in a menu of training programs.

Job specific skills programs helped some people but not others. Four factors in combination influenced the ability of a job specific skills program to provide a career path for its students: 1) the quality of the program, 2) the basic skills and life conditions of its students, 3) the nature of the work available for people with that particular type of training and 4) the ability of the program to successfully place its students in those jobs. Since these four factors can not be easily measured, finding the "best" programs requires thoughtfully looking at the ways that these factors work together for different kinds of employment.

- **Enriching social networks through mentoring or buddy programs helps some people better their situation**

Given that many people who found good jobs relied on friends and family as a referral source to work, developing mentoring programs which connect people who lack these ties to people working in that field is one strategy which could help some people move from welfare to work. Mentoring or buddy programs provide training program students with direct advice on many important aspects of work like appropriate dress, workplace behavior, how to write an appropriate resume and cover letter as well as insider connections to employers.

- **Policy makers need to work with non-profit subcontractors to design appropriate evaluation procedures and incentive structures**

This study shows the importance of policy makers designing more flexible and long term outcome measures geared toward multiple populations. They also need to take into account the

consequences of funding requirements and performance standards on program design. Performance standards need to reflect evaluation procedure that accounts for long term outcomes and uses more sophisticated models with different characteristics for populations with varying education and work experience. Contracts which hold back funds based on short term, rigid performance standards are particularly corrosive in giving agencies the funding they need in order to meet the intent of policy. Instead, these contracting mechanisms should be replaced with incentive structures developed to reflect appropriate strategies for differing populations. These types of mechanisms are best developed with agency subcontractors.

SOCIAL NETWORKS, CAREER AND TRAINING PATHS FOR PARTICIPANTS IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS
Technical Report

The Social Network Study was conducted in 1996 as part of a larger research project looking at the experiences of men and women with different racial, ethnic, educational backgrounds and career paths in the Philadelphia labor market. This study was conducted with the cooperation of the Private Industry Council of Philadelphia (PIC) and a number of training providers in the Philadelphia area as a project of the *Institute for the Study of Civic Values* (ISCV). The social network survey focused on the relationship between work experience, training, and the people and organizations which welfare recipients use as resources in order to find jobs and educational programs. Questionnaires were collected from 338 people currently enrolled in nine training programs or community college.

This report includes a detailed summary of findings from the Social Network study. It is designed as a supplement to a policy report using these data prepared for the *21st Century League* which focuses on ways to aid government, training providers and employers working with public assistance recipients moving from welfare to work.

History of the Study and Methodology

The *Social Network Study* grew out of analysis of anonymous surveys collected by *Community Women's Education Project (CWEP)* in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This statistical study included all 373 people enrolled in the CWEP workstart program over 5 years. It traced the previous work and training experience of program participants. Findings revealed that 52 percent of participants had completed high school, 7 percent had gone on to college, 59 percent had attended vocational training. Only 4 percent had never worked and 92 percent had started work before the age of 21. Most had held between two and five jobs. This project revealed a pattern where African American women would attend training programs linked to jobs which would end. Since the questionnaire lacked social network information and did not include time information which would allow researchers to understand the sequence of training and jobs, the reasons for this pattern were not clear. The *Social Network Study* was designed to explore several questions raised by this initial research:

- Would the pattern of a "training track" for African American women appear again and why did this pattern occur?
- Was the CWEP population experience similar to that of other people enrolled in employment and training in Philadelphia?

- How did work and training experience differ for men and women; people with different education and work experience; and people enrolled in different kinds of training programs?

- What role did formal agencies like the Department of Public Welfare and social service agencies play in steering public assistance recipients toward different kinds of training? What role did family, friends and other resources play in this process?

The *Social Networks, Career and Training Paths for Disadvantaged Populations* study was designed to address these questions. The questionnaire was revised and piloted at *Community Women's Education Project* and the *Institute for the Study of Civic Values.* This work was carried out by the author with the assistance of college students from Bryn Mawr College, Haverford College, Hope College and Mansfield University enrolled in the *Campus/Community Collaborative* program at the Institute. Redesign took place during 1993 through 1995.

The new study included several types of information. The entire questionnaire is in Appendix B. The first section asked about demographics: age, gender, race/nationality, immigration year, country of origin, number and age of children, if the respondent had ever married and current marital status, highest level of education, reason for not completing high school for those who were not formal high school graduates, and military history.

The second section asked for detailed information on up to four training programs which participants enrolled in after leaving high school. This section asked for age and year the participant entered the program, type of training, length of program, cost, whether or not the person completed the program and if it led to employment. In order to understand the social networks that led to training, participants were asked how they heard about the program. The final set of questions in this section asked if the participants had taken out student loans, for how much, and if those loans were in default.

The third section focused on employment. Participants were asked about all jobs after leaving high school. They recorded the year and how old they were when they started this job. Information on type of job, full or part-time, wages, whether or not the job provide health insurance and how long they stayed at the job. This section also collected information on how they found the job and why they left. Final questions in this section asked about problems finding work.

The final section asked about current source of income. This included length of time on welfare for this spell and, for those currently not on public assistance, total length of time ever on welfare. The final question asked about why they entered their current program.

Data were collected from 338 people enrolled in nine training programs or community college in Philadelphia in late 1995 and 1996. The Philadelphia PIC has contracts with the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to provide education and training for Philadelphia residents through several

Federal government programs, including JTPA and the Family Support Act of 1988 (JOBS). Based on a combination of Commonwealth and Federal regulations, the PIC was responsible for meeting training and placement goals for the people enrolled in their programs. For most of the time documented in this study, in Pennsylvania, both JTPA and JOBS programs required that a certain percentage of participants be placed in full-time jobs which paid $6.00. Half of the jobs should provide health insurance. Placement rates were measured by counting the number of people who remained at their job placement 30 and 90 days after they find work. The Family Support Act required that participants be in a training related activity for 20 hours a week. The PIC used both JTPA and JOBS funds to subcontract with non-profit and for profit organizations to provide most of its training. Since both JTPA and JOBS standards had to be met for most programs, they all had placement goals which fit both standards and must offer 20 hours of activity.

Since many disadvantaged Philadelphia residents lack basic math and reading skills needed to complete job specific skills programs, the Philadelphia PIC created a two tier training system. People who did not have sufficient reading and math levels to succeed in a job specific skills program were first sent to a "feeder" program which focused on teaching adult basic skills. Feeder contracts required that they transition their graduates into either a job or a specific skills program. The job specific skills programs were expected to place their graduates into paid employment. Most study participants were enrolled in these two kinds of programs.

In addition to the skills training system, the PIC was involved in a number of other kinds of Commonwealth and Federal programs designed to move public assistance recipients from welfare to work. The Family Support Act required that two parent families on welfare (AFDC-U) participate in 16 hours a week of community service in order to qualify for benefits. The Ridge administration had instituted six week mandatory job development programs for public assistance recipients who met certain criteria. The study also included participants in both of these kinds of programs.

With the support of the PIC, agencies were selected which include the range of adult basic skills, job specific skills serving both men and women, and mandatory job preparation and workfare programs available in Philadelphia. Care was taken to ensure that the study include participants in all of the major types of programs funded through the PIC. These included a clerical program (Arbor-Cite), a nursing assistant program (1199c), two job specific skills programs serving primarily men (PHDC, OIC), a homeless shelter providing both basic and job specific skills (People's Emergency Center), two "feeder" programs focused on populations who needed basic skills remediation before skills training (CWEP, ISCV AWEP program preparation class), a mandatory job development program (PIC-Upfront), and a mandatory community service program for two parent families (ISCV AWEP-UP). Three classes at community college (one general education, one upper level professional, and one upper level combined) and some STEP-UP enrollees also participated in the study. Questionnaires were given to all participants in classes which included both disadvantaged and more general training program participants. Students filled out and returned questionnaires on a voluntary basis.

Statistical analysis focused both on general relationships between demographic characteristics, social networks and work/training experience and tracing time line experiences with work and training. Most of the statistical analysis involved measures for qualitative data. These included cluster analysis of demographic characteristics, types of employment and types of training. Much of the analysis presented here involves examining cross tabulations of various information. Most comparative statistics rely on chi-square, measures of linear relationships for nominal data, correlations and analysis of variance. In quantitative research, a statistically significant probability score measures how likely it is that a pattern did not occur by chance. Findings were considered statistically significant at the p.01 level. Most of the patterns reported here were significant at the p.001 or p.000 level.

Demographic Characteristics

Differences between participants in the various programs are discussed in Appendix A. The participants in college fell into several groups: younger people who were more likely to be working or supported by family and working age students which were very similar to people in the various other programs. The mandatory community service program differed from many of the other programs because it served a large number of older, white male dislocated workers and refugees with high levels of education from their country of origin. Where differences in the study population were due to significant differences among the people enrolled in a particular program, that information is noted here.

Age: Most of the people in this study were working age:

18-21	9%
22-25	39%
36-45	28%
over 45	6%

Men were slightly older than women. Nearly 13 percent of men were over 45 compared to 5 percent of women. Most of these older men were older dislocated workers in the ISCV mandatory community service program.

There was no significant difference in age for people from different races or nationalities.

Gender: 16% male, 84% female. More African American's (88%) and Latinos (82%) were women then whites (68%) and Asians (40%).

Race:

African American	74%
White	16%
Latino	7%
Native American	1%
Asian	2%
Biracial	1%

Migrated to the U.S. Mainland: Eight percent of the people (26) in this study came to Philadelphia from outside the U.S. mainland. This group included people who came to the U.S. in several different ways. Thirty-six percent of this population were Puerto Rican citizens who had migrated to the mainland. Thirty six percent were refugees: 20 percent from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and 16 percent from Southeast Asia. Only 20 percent (7 people) were actual immigrants to this country. They came from Asia, Central and South America, and the Caribbean.

The majority of these people had been in the U.S. more than 10 years. Fifty percent arrived before 1985, most after 1968. Seventy-two percent had arrived by 1992. Only 18 percent had come to the U.S. mainland in the three years before the study.

Not everyone who was Latino or Asian should be thought of as a recent migrant with limited grasp of English and little U.S. work experience. While all of the Asians had been born in another country, many of these were young college students who may have been raised in the U.S.

Only 48 percent of the Latinos were born outside of the U.S. mainland. While the majority of the migrants had limited English and U.S. work experience, the education and work backgrounds of U.S. born Latinos was similar to that of African Americans.

Very few whites (13%) and African Americans (2%) came from outside the U.S. mainland. Most of these people were refugees or Haitian entrants.

Marital Status and Number of Children: Thirty-seven percent of the study population had ever been married. Of those who had married, 62 percent were still married.

Marital status differed dramatically by gender and race. Sixty-two percent of men had married versus 32 percent of the women. Seventy-eight percent of the men were still married compared to 56 percent of the women. This difference is largely due to the fact that many of the men in this sample were in the mandatory two parent community service program.

Older age groups were more likely to have married. Eighty-nine percent of those over age 45, 56 percent of those ages 36 to 45, and 29 percent of those 22 to 35 had ever married. There was no significant difference in age among those who were still married.

African Americans had been married much less frequently than any other group. Only 27 percent of African Americans had ever been married compared to 56 percent of whites, 72 percent of Latinos and 60 percent of Asians.

Most people in this study had children. Overall, 92 percent had children. African Americans (94%) and Latinos (100%) were more likely to have children than whites (80%) and Asians

(60%). Differences in marital status and having children for Asians are primarily due to the fact that many of the Asians were young college students.

Most of these people had small families. Forty-nine percent had two children or less. Twenty-one percent only had one child. Sixty-six percent had three children or less and another 10 percent had a fourth child. Only 15 people altogether had six children or more. There was no difference in the number of children across race and gender.

Present Source of Income: Only 6 percent of this population had never been on welfare. Most were presently on welfare:

Welfare	83%
Job	10%
Spouse/family	5%
Other	3%

For those currently on welfare, statistics mirrored the national welfare figures:

Under 1 year	22%
1-3 yrs	28%
3-5 yrs	22%
5-10 yrs	15%
Over 10 yrs	12%

Of those who were not currently on welfare, 66 percent had been on it in the past. However, this group had spent less time on welfare overall. Figures for total time on welfare for this population broke down as follows:

Under 1 year	44%
1-3 yrs	31%
3-5 yrs	8%
5-10 yrs	14%
Over 10 yrs	3%

Men were less likely to be on welfare (66%) than women (86%). Men were more likely to be currently working (28%) than women (7%). For those who were currently on welfare, 46 percent of men had been on less than one year and 86 percent overall three years or less. Only 17 percent of women had been on the system less than one year. Twenty-four percent had been on the system three to five years and 32 percent five years or more. Overall, 56 percent of women had been on public assistance three years or more. This difference between men and women was primarily due to the fact that most men in this study were either in college or the mandatory community service program which included many dislocated workers who had recently ran out of the unemployment benefits and turned to welfare for support.

More African Americans (86%) and Latinos (90%) were on welfare compared to whites (66%) and Asians (60%). More whites (19%) had jobs versus African Americans (11%) and Latinos

(10%). Thirteen percent of whites were supported by their families. There was no significant difference across race and nationality for time on welfare.

Only 69 percent of the under 21 age group was currently on welfare. This trend was also due to the fact that a larger part of the under 21 group were enrolled in college. Other age groups were over 80 percent. Forty-six percent of the over 45 population had been on welfare less than one year. Again, these figures reflect older dislocated workers. Thirty percent of the 36 to 45 age group had been on public assistance for over 10 years.

Military experience: Roughly 4 percent of the people in this study had been in the military. This included 36 percent of the men and 2 percent of the women. Fifty-five percent of those who had military experience used the military as a significant part of their career, spending more than four years in the service. There was no difference across race or age in military experience.

Education and Training: General Patterns:

High School:
The majority of the people in this study had completed high school or a GED: 56% finished high school, 39% of those who had not completed high school finished a GED, 68% had a diploma or GED. The "Diploma" variable included everyone who had actually received a diploma or GED, as opposed to people who reported that they had finished high school, making the percentage slightly lower than the percent for "finish high school."

Gender: Men (68%) were more likely to finish high school than women (53%). Nearly 80 percent of men had a diploma, compared to 66 percent of women.

Race: African Americans (53%) and Latinos (47%) were much less likely to finish high school than whites (75%) and Asians (80%). However, more African Americans and Asians completed GEDs, bringing statistics for actually having a diploma to 67 percent for African Americans, 70 percent for whites, 64 percent for Latinos and 100 percent for Asians.

Age: Younger populations were much less likely to have finished high school. Only 39 percent of the under 21 population had completed high school, compared to 52 percent of those 22 to 35, 67 percent of those 36 to 45 and 75 percent of those over 45. The same patterns held once GEDs were included. Fifty-five percent under 21, 64 percent 22 to 35, 81 percent 36 to 45, and 74 percent over 45 had a diploma.

Reasons for Leaving: Reasons for leaving school did not vary across race or age. Overall, 30 percent left due to pregnancy, 21 percent for money or work, 26 percent for family problems, and 10 percent did not want to go back. Women left more often because they were pregnant (35%) while men left because they needed money or went to work (42%). An equal number of men (25%) and women (26%) left for family problems.

Post-Secondary Education Experience:
Most people in this study had gone to a training program before entering the activity where they were currently enrolled. **83 percent had attended a training program**: 38 percent one, 33 percent two, 12 percent three or more. There was no difference in attending programs or the number attended between men and women. The over 45 group(53%) and under 21 age group (47%) were most likely to have only completed one program.

Program attendance did vary for whites and people of color. Eighty-five percent of African Americans and Latinos had attended a training program compared to sixty-eight percent for whites. African Americans took many more programs than other groups. Forty-eight percent of African Americans compared to 28 percent for whites and 25 percent for Latinos took more than one program. As discussed in the social network section, African Americans and established Latinos have more access to training programs than whites due to low income and the familiarity of these groups in using social service systems.

Completion rates also vary across race. Fifty-eight percent of African Americans and 60 percent of Asians had completed at least one program, versus whites (52%) and Latinos (38%). However, given that African Americans take more programs, and Latinos less, the completion rates for these groups are actually much lower than for whites and Asians. Women (44%) are less likely to complete any programs than men (33%). Overall, the number of programs completed were: none 43 percent, one 40 percent, two 13 percent, three 4 percent.

In current programs, African Americans predominated in mandatory job development (83%), job specific skills programs (88%), and the shelter (90%), compared to mandatory community service (25%), feeders (62%) and college (55%). Forty-three percent of the people in this sample in mandatory community service were white, 25 percent in feeders, 26 percent college, and under 11 percent for the shelter and JSS programs. Latinos also were found in the mandatory community service programs (18%), feeders (11%), college (8%), but only 4 percent of the job specific skills enrollees. This shows that Latinos were not being served by the job specific skills training network. It also shows that whites were less likely to participate in the PIC funded training program system. Whites and Asians were served by the community college and tuition based training systems while Latinos were left out of training altogether.

Loans: 53 percent had taken out loans, 57 percent for more than $2,000, 26 percent for $500-2,000, 75 percent still owed and 64 percent of those were in default. There was not a significant difference between men and women on the number that had loans or the amount. However, 52 percent of men versus 79 percent of women still owed on those loans. Sixty-eight percent of women's loans were in default compared to 39 percent for men. There was no difference in loan or default rates among various races and nationalities.

Major types of training programs taken: The study measured participation in training programs in two ways. First, information on the number of people who had *ever taken a course* in a particular subject were counted. Overall, the following percentages of the people in this study and ever taken courses in these topics:

Data/clerical	34%
Skilled trades	13%
College	16%
Nursing assistant or home health aid	20%
Business	17%
GED/ABE	14%
Job Preparation	13%

"Business" courses were often another term for secretarial training. In later cluster analysis of these programs, they are combined with data/clerical, making this kind of training the most popular kind of training overall. Over 50 percent of the people in this study had taken some form or clerical or computer word processing training.

Gender and Race: The kinds of training programs varied dramatically by gender, race and basic education. Only 7 percent of the men in the sample had taken data/clerical training. Thirty percent of the women had taken one clerical program and another 10 percent two or more clerical training programs. Twenty-three percent of women had trained to be nursing assistants, compared to three percent of men. Fifteen percent of men had taken foodservice compared to 5 percent of women.

African Americans (37%) and Latinas (35%) were much more likely to take clerical training than whites (13%). However, this was largely due to the fact that most whites in the sample were men, not because whites did not take this kind of training. White women were most likely to take clerical or GED training. Whites (34%) and Asians (80%) were most likely to go to college. Only 12 percent of African Americans had gone to college. Nursing assistant programs were exclusively taken by people of color: 25 percent of African Americans and 12 percent of Latinos took these programs.

Basic Education: There was a significant difference in types of training taken based on high school education. Sixty-seven percent of the people in clerical training had finished high school and 79 percent had a diploma. People who had not completed high school went into nursing assistant programs. Fifty-eight percent of the people in these programs had not finished high school. Virtually everyone enrolled in college had a high school diploma or GED. There was no significant difference in basic education for other programs.

Summary: Taken together, these statistics show some general patterns steering people toward different types of careers. People of color without high school educations, particularly women, went into nursing assistant programs. Foodservice also provided training for people with lower educational credentials, serving more men. Clerical programs were taken almost exclusively by

women with solid basic education credentials. As explained later, these programs led to good career paths, particularly for women of color. Gender mattered little in going to college, but race made a large difference. Again, some of this trend is due to basic education credentials. All Asians and a larger percentage of whites had a high school diploma or GED.

Program Length: These figures show the percentage of people who have ever taken a program of this length. The majority of this population had taken short term training:

Under 2 months	17%
3-6 months	39%
6-12 months	38%
12-18 months	20%
Over 18 months	1%

Gender and Race: Program length did not vary much for men and women. However, there was a significant different among people from different races. People of color were much more likely to be in programs that ran three to six months. Forty-two percent of African Americans, 41 percent of Latinos and 40 percent of Asians had participated in this type of program compared to 22 percent for whites. This difference reflects participation in focused skills training programs. African Americans (52%) were much more likely to go to six to twelve month programs, compared to whites (25%) and Latinos (29%). Whites (41%) and Asians (80%) were much more likely to be in 12-18 month programs than African Americans (21%) and Latinos (23%). This reflects greater participation in college and union skilled trade programs.

Program led to a job: Overall, program participants stated that their training led to a job 30 percent of the time. The program did not lead to a job 40 percent of the time.

Comparing Free and Tuition Based Programs:
Using cluster analysis, a statistical procedure which groups together information with similar characteristics, the various types of programs were combined into the following categories:

GED/Job Prep: GED and job preparation courses were under 6 months and free to participants
Nursing assistant/foodservice, 3-12 mo, free
Nurse assistant/foodservice, 3-12 mo cost
Skilled trade/security/ hair styling, Greater than 6 mo, free
Skilled trade/security/hair styling, Greater than 6 mo, cost
Clerical/business,Less than 6 mo, cost
Clerical/business, Less than 6 mo, free
Clerical/business, Greater than 6 mo, cost
Clerical/business, Greater than 6 mo free
College

Policy Eras and Types of Training: The kinds of training available changed over time. "Great Society" programs include courses taken before 1980, most during the Johnson era CETA

program. Seventeen percent of the people went to their first training program during this time period. Reagan era programs ran from 1981-1988. Twenty-two percent of the first training programs were funded under JTPA and other Reagan initiatives. Sixty-one percent of the first training included programs funded under the Family Support Act of 1988. Most second and later programs occurred after the Family Support Act had gone into effect.

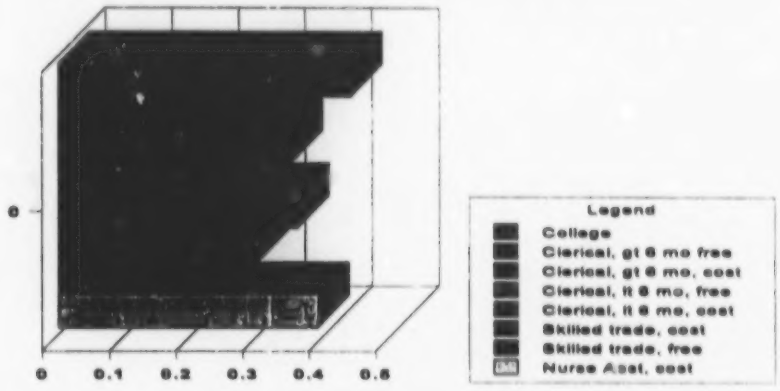
During the great society era, training focused on job specific skills. Forty-six percent of the free skilled trades training happened in this time. This may refer to union apprenticeship programs. Clerical programs included short, free programs (20%) and greater than six month free programs (36%). Twenty-three percent of the cost nursing assistant programs also occurred during this era. Sixty-six percent of college training also occurred during this time.

People participated in much more tuition based training during the Reagan era. Forty-six percent of the tuition based nursing assistant programs, 58 percent of the cost skilled trades programs , 64 percent of the under six month cost clerical training and 16 percent of the greater than six months clerical programs happened during this time. GED and job development programs started in this era. Twenty-percent of first programs were Reagan era GED or job development programs.

Most of the GED and job development (73%) occurred during the Family Support Act. Both free and tuition based job specific skills programs continued. Clerical programs became longer: 70 percent of both the free and cost greater than six months programs were Family Support Act programs.

Drop-Out Rates: There is a dramatic difference in drop out rates between tuition based and cost programs. For the first program, drop out rates for tuition based programs range from 39 percent for nursing assistant programs to 30 percent for skilled trades. The only free job specific skills program that reported students who did not finish the program was skilled trades (22%). College had the highest retention problems, with a 44 percent drop out rate. Drop out rates for GED/Job Prep programs were 21 percent for the first program.

Drop Out Rate: Training Program 1



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Work Experience: General Patterns

Number of Jobs: Like the CWEP study, most of the people in the Social Network study had held multiple jobs. The Social Network study did not include jobs held while attending high school, which underestimates the work experience of the population, but gives a better understanding of adult work experience. Overall, 13 percent of this study population had never worked, 42 percent had held one or two jobs and 45 percent had held three or more. For more detailed analysis, the population that never worked was expanded to include people who had only held one job in their adult life which lasted less than one year. This brought the total who had never worked up to 23 percent.

Gender and Race: Women (15%) were much more likely to have never worked than men (2%). Men (18%) were also much more likely to have held six jobs then women (5%). Number of jobs was not otherwise statistically significant.

African Americans (25%) had the highest percentage of the study population which had held only one job, compared to ten to thirteen percent for other groups. Latinos (18%), primarily women, had not worked at all. Fewer African Americans (41%) had worked more than three jobs, compared to whites (58%) and Latinos (54%).

People who had not finished high school (18%) were more likely to have never worked, compared to those who had finished high school (9%). Twenty-nine percent of those who had not finished high school had held only one job, compared to eighteen percent for those who had finished high school.

Major types of jobs: The study measured overall work experience patterns and then looked at experience over time. The most common jobs held by study participants were as follows:

Cashier	36%
Data entry or clerical	27%
Nursing assistant	17%
Sales	13%
Security guard	10%
Factory worker or driver	23%
Maintenance	10%
Restaurant work	19%
Professional or professional entry level	9%

Gender: As with training programs, jobs fell into traditional gender categories. Many more women (41%) than men (12%) worked as cashiers. Women (31%) held most of the clerical jobs, compared to men (10%). Forty-six percent of men worked in factories, compared to sixteen

percent for women. Men also worked in skilled trades and maintenance (36%), while only a few women (6%) held these kinds of jobs.

Age: Types of jobs also changed by age. These differences reflect changes in the economy over time from factory work to service occupations. Fifty-seven percent of those under 21 had worked as cashiers, 44 percent of those 22 to 35, 21 percent of people 36 to 45 and 11 percent of those over 45. Seventeen percent of those under age 21 had worked in sales, 21 percent of those 36 to 45 and less than 10 percent for other groups. Forty-four percent of those ages 36 to 45 had worked in computer/clerical, 22 percent for both 22 to 35 and over 45 and nine percent for under 21. Fifty percent of those over the age of 45 had worked in factories, compared to 22 percent for those 36 to 45, 19 percent of people 22 to 35, and 17 percent for under 21. There was no difference across age groups for nursing assistants, restaurant work, security guards, childcare or professional positions.

Race: Differences among people from different races followed similar patterns to training. There was no racial difference in those who performed clerical work. Many more African Americans (38%) and Latinos (44%) had worked as cashiers than whites (16%). Nursing assistants were primarily African American (20%), compared to less than six percent for other groups. Only African Americans worked as security guards. There was no difference for other occupations.

Basic Education: Basic education made a significant difference in some occupations. Ninety-two percent of the people in clerical positions had a high school diploma or a GED. Seventy-three percent of those in sales positions had finished high school. Ninety-one percent of those in professional jobs had a diploma. There was no significant difference in basic credentials for those in other occupations.

Wage Levels: Overall, people in the study population had held jobs paying the following wages:

Lt $5 an hour	50%
$5-7	62%
$7-9	34%
$9-11	10%
Over $11	10%

Gender: Wages for men and women did not differ until over $11 per hour. Twenty percent of men earned more than $11 compared to 7 percent of women. Men saw more wage progression between their first and last jobs than women. For example a progression of one category may mean earning less than $5 an hour at a first job and $5-7 at the last one. A three category jump might go from $5-7 to over $11. Fourteen percent of women saw no wage difference compared to six percent for men, 39 percent of men went up one wage category between their first and last job and 27 percent of men earned three wage categories or more difference from their first job compared to 12 percent for women.

Race: African Americans started out at slightly higher wages than other groups. Fifty-one percent of African Americans started at less than $5.00 an hour compared to 64 percent for whites and 88 percent for Latinos. Thirty-nine percent of African Americans started at $5-7 an hour. Whites had more wage progression than other groups. Fifteen percent of African Americans and 18 percent of Latinos had no wage progression compared to none for whites. Thirty-five percent of whites, 47 percent of African Americans and 54 percent of Latinos only progressed one category between their first and last jobs.

Employed full time: A full 77 percent of the study population had held a full time job. Forty-five percent had been employed part time. There was no significant difference in holding a full time job between men and women, but more women (48%) had held part-time jobs than men (32%). Younger people were more likely to never have held a full time job. Only 48 percent of those under 21 had held a full time job, compared to 78 percent or over for older groups. There was no significant difference among age groups for part-time work. There was no significant difference among races for either full or part-time work. Those with a diploma (82%) were much more likely to hold full-time jobs than those without (66%). Education made no difference in holding a part-time job.

Held a job which provided health insurance Most of these people had not held jobs which provided health insurance. Forty-two percent had held a job with health insurance. Thirty-eight percent of the women had held jobs with health insurance compared to 56 percent of men. Younger groups had not had jobs with health insurance. Only 8 percent of those under 21 had held a job with health insurance, compared to 36 percent of those 22 to 35, 63 percent of those 36 to 45 and 50 percent of those over age 45. There was no difference among different races in employment with health insurance. Fifty percent of those with a high school diploma held jobs with health insurance compared to 23 percent of those who did not have a diploma or GED.

Length of time on the job The study looked at the length of time that people had held jobs. These figures could represent part-time, summer jobs before entering a training program or people who did not stay at a job for a long time. Overall people had held jobs for the following length of time:

Under 6 months	41%
6-11 months	42%
1-2 years	48%
2-5 years	36%
More than 5 years	17%

Gender and Race: There was no significant difference regarding length of time on the job between men and women or among different races. Younger people were more likely to be in jobs a short amount of time while older people had held jobs for long periods of time. Eighty-two percent of those under age 21 had held a job for less than six months, 47 percent of those 22 to 35, 24 percent of those age 36 to 45 and only 17 percent of those over age 45. Thirty-four

percent of those between 36 to 45 and 44 percent of those over age 45 had held jobs for over 5 years. These differences reflect the fact that many of the older workers had been displaced from stable, long-term employment.

Basic Education: Education made a difference for those who were in jobs under 6 months. Fifty percent of those who had not finished high school had worked at a job less than 6 months compared to 36 percent of those who had finished. Seventy-five percent of those who held jobs two to five years had finished high school compared to 25 percent for those who had not finished high school.

Types of Employment Clusters and Career Ladders: Information on job title, wages and health insurance were analyzed using cluster analysis. Jobs were grouped into several categories. *Low end service* refers to cashier, sales, restaurant, service and bus matron positions which require little training and pay low wages. *Clerical* positions include both secretarial and data entry jobs. *Semi-skilled helping professions* included jobs like nursing assistant, childcare, maid, teacher's aid and laundry that involve little formal training, pay low wages and involve primary care to others. *Blue collar* positions include both semi-skilled factory work and skilled trades. *Professional jobs* require significant formal training, but may not pay well.

Ideally, people would progress from low end service positions as a first job to better jobs over the life of a career. As discussed in detail in the section of worker types and employment paths, this was true for some people. Others found themselves returning to low paid positions again and again.

Table 1 shows the percentage of people in each job for three jobs. This table suggests two patterns for employment over time. Examining the first three categories, labeled *low end service*, show one pattern. If people were progressing from entry-level jobs to better paid positions, the percentages in the least desirable jobs - low end service, part-time, no health insurance, would go down between the first and third jobs. But these figures do not drop much over time. The same is true for the other two categories. They do show some movement out of these kinds of jobs, but not as much as a ladder toward better employment would suggest.

The same pattern is true for helping professions like nursing assistant. There is an increase in part-time, low-wage jobs without health insurance, but no change for the better helping profession jobs. People move into poorly paid, part-time nursing assistant positions, but do not seem to move up from there.

Examining the categories for clerical positions, blue collar jobs and professional jobs shows a different pattern. In these fields, more people have career ladders. People do seem to move from entry-level jobs into work with better pay, hours and benefits. The percentage in entry level clerical jobs drops in half, from four to two percent between the first and second job. This category drops to one percent by the third job. Progress means several options. People seem to move into full time work at various wage levels and benefits. Percentages for most of these

categories double by second and third jobs. The third clerical category: full time, low wages and health insurance seems to serve as an entry level position for some people. Blue collar and professional jobs follow similar patterns.

Table 1: Job Type (Percentage) * does not add to 100%, some small categories missing
Low wage: $7 an hour or less Low/mod wage: $9 or less, but usually 5-9
Mod wage: $7-9 High wage: over $9

Job Characteristics	Job 1	Job 2	Job 3
Low end service (sales, cashier, restaurant work) part time, no health insurance	14%	15%	11%
Low end service, full time, no health insurance	17%	15%	12%
Low end service, full time, with health insurance	4%	4%	2%
Clerical, part time, low wages, no health insurance	4%	2%	1%
Clerical, full time, low wages, no health insurance	3%	4%	6%
Clerical, full time, low wages, health insurance	3%	3%	1%
Clerical, full time, moderate wages, no health insurance	1%	1%	3%
Clerical, full time, good wages, health insurance	2%	7%	6%
Semi-skilled helping professions (nursing assistant, childcare, teacher's aid), low wages, part time, no health insurance	3%	7%	6%
Semi-skilled helping professions, low wage, full time, no health insurance	5%	3%	4%
Semi-skilled helping professions, low/moderate wages, full time, health insurance	3%	3%	3%
Blue collar, low wages, part time, no health insurance	3%	1%	2%
Blue collar, low wages, part time, health insurance	2%	3%	4%
Blue collar, low wages. full time, no health insurance	7%	6%	5%
Blue collar, high wages, full time, health insurance	2%	5%	6%
Professional, low/moderate wages, part time, no health insurance	1%	1%	1%
Professional, low/moderate wages, full time, no health insurance	0	1%	4%
Professional/high sales, moderate/high wages, full time, health insurance	1%	1%	2%
Other/hairstyling, full time	3%	2%	4%
Other	18%	12%	18%

Work Characteristics and Reasons for Leaving Work: Looking at length of time that people stayed on jobs and reasons for leaving teaches much about the relationship between the quality of work and employment patterns.

People leave part-time jobs with poor pay and no benefits quickly. For the first job, 50 percent of the people in part-time, low end service jobs were gone in under six months. Forty-percent of the people in part-time, low-wage, no benefit clerical positions, 68 percent of the lowest nursing assistant jobs and 68 percent of the entry-level blue collar workers left in the same time period. The same pattern persists for jobs two and three for these categories. Percentages are also high for low-wage, full time jobs without health insurance. Twenty-five percent of those in full time low end service, 38 percent in low-wage, no benefits clerical and 29 percent in similar blue collar positions left before six months were up. Patterns for these jobs also persist over time.

People stay in low-wage jobs with health insurance only slightly longer. Thirty-six percent of those in full-time low end service positions without health insurance and 33 percent of those in comparable blue collar jobs stayed between six months and one year.

For jobs which may prove entry level to a field but which do not offer good wages and working conditions, many people stay for one or two years. For example, someone may take a full time job which does not pay enough or offer health insurance as an entry-level position in order to get experience in the field but only stay a year or two before moving on to a better job. Fifty-four percent of those in full time, low wage helping professions without benefits, 38 percent in low wage, full time clerical jobs and the majority in the entry-level professional positions left in this time period. The same patterns hold true for second jobs.

People stay in good paying jobs with benefits for a long time. For first jobs, 75 percent of people in the best clerical jobs stayed more than five years. This was also true for 60 percent of those in good blue collar jobs and 68 percent of those in professional jobs. People in the better nursing assistant positions changed jobs more often, but tended to stay significant periods of time. One third had been in their first job two to five years and another third more than five years. The same patterns hold for second and third jobs.

Reasons for leaving jobs also reflect working conditions. Thirty-six percent left in under one year because jobs were temporary or part-time. Thirty-eight percent of those who stayed in a job for less than one year left due to childcare problems, in part due to hours on these jobs. Thirty-one percent left due to maternity. However, it is important to note that the highest percentages who left due to pregnancy were in good paying, women's jobs.

People also left low end jobs in short periods of time to go to school. For first jobs, the 12 percent who only stayed at a job for a few months before going to school represent students who worked for the summer before entering adult training programs. After second and third jobs, this trend reflects people who realize that they need to get additional training in order to succeed

in a field. One-third of the people in low-wage helping professions or professional jobs left second and third jobs for this reason.

People also leave entry-level or stable positions for a better job. Twenty-five percent of those in low wage, full time clerical positions with health insurance left for a better job. The same was true for people in the best low end service (18%) and nursing assistant (22%) positions.

Changes in the economy send people in the best jobs looking for work. Seventy-five percent of those in the best clerical positions and 50 percent of those in high paid, blue collar jobs, and one-third of the professionals left their first job because they were laid off or the business closed. The same pattern continues for second and third jobs.

Demographic Composites and Work and Training Patterns

Demographic Patterns

Race, gender, age and education all play a role in the career and training paths of people in this study. However, these characteristics do not define a person by themselves. People with different combinations of background characteristics may live very different lives than others of the same race or sex. For example, an African American woman with a high school diploma may fare differently from another African American woman who did not complete high school. In order to understand the relationship between these various factors, the study population was divided into groups using a statistical technique called cluster analysis. This technique groups people together based on ways they are most similar. Using clusters shows patterns in a group of people which may not show up if the researcher just guessed about what factors made people most similar. For example, if I had assumed that all African Americans with a high school diploma who were not married would be different from whites with a high school diploma who had married, I would have missed both the differences among African American women and the similarities along other key demographic characteristics among people from both groups. Cluster analysis shows these similarities between people with several kinds of characteristics which may effect their work and training experience like age, race, education, marital status, working status or welfare or number of children.

For this study, I ran two types of cluster analysis and compared different groups from both types of clusters on their work and training experience. These clusters show patterns within the population, but no cluster includes only people with a particular set of characteristics. For example, a cluster may include mostly people of color, but also have a few whites who have similar characteristics. After looking at these two clusters, I discovered that race/nationality, gender and education together seemed to account for significant differences. I then created a further set of clusters which simply grouped all the people with the same three characteristics in one group. This final set of clusters only includes people with a given set of characteristics. For

example, all white women with a diploma are in one cluster and all African American women with a diploma are in another cluster.

The first cluster analysis included information on participant's age, gender, race, immigrant status, whether or not they had a diploma, whether or not they had ever married, and currently working or on welfare. The following clusters emerged from this analysis:

1 Married people of color, 36 to 45 (74 cases): 87% Black, 22.7% Latino, 7.2% Asian, 84.7% Female, 51.4% ever married, 56.7% currently married, 100% 36 to 45, 82% welfare, 8.2% job

2 Under 21 year old women, no diploma (26 cases): 69% Black, 19% white, 7.7% Latino, 92.3% female, 92% never married, 100% under 21, 80% on welfare, 12% family support, 46.2% diploma

3 Immigrant, married, people of color, 22 to 35, diploma (22 cases): 59% Black, 27.3% Latino, 9.1% Asian, 63.6% female, 100% currently married, 100% 22 to 35, 85.7% welfare, 9.5% job, 36.4% immigrant, 90.9% diploma

4 19% white, female, working age, no diploma (77 cases): 72% Black, 18.7% white, 6.7% Latino, 89.5 % female, 76.6% never married, 88.6% 22 to 35, 8.6% 36 to 45, 2.9% over 45, 91% welfare, 6% job, 3.9% diploma

5 Black, never married, 14% working, diploma(125 cases): 79.8% Black, 14% white, 85.5% female, 76.2% never married, 4.2% under 21 82.2% 22 to 35, 13.6% over 45, 78.9% on welfare, 14% job, 5.3% family support, 7% immigrant, 96% diploma

6 white, half male, half married, 36 and up, 17% working, diploma(14 cases): 100% white, 50% female, 50% currently married (all married at some point), 8.3% 22 to 35, 83.3% 36 to 45, 8.3% over 45, 75% welfare, 16.7% job, 8.3% family support, 7.7% immigrant, 100% diploma

The second cluster analysis included the same information except age. This analysis organized the population differently. It brought together all of the African American women who were working and the white women. It also rearranged the male population and some other groups.

1 Black women, never married, no diploma, welfare (85 cases): 76.5% Black,, 14.8% white 4.9% Latino, 95% Female, 23.8% ever married, 56% currently married, 95.2% welfare

2 Black/Latino, 75% female, married, diploma, on welfare (40 cases): 72.5% Black, 22.5% Latino, 75% female, 84% married, 89% on welfare, 13.5% immigrant, 97.5% diploma

3 Immigrant, married, white/Asian, diploma (14 cases): 78.6% white, 21.4% Asian, all male, 100% curr married, 100% welfare, 53.8% immigrant, 85.7% diploma

4 Black female, never married, diploma, welfare (135 cases): 79.7% Black, 11.4% white, 7.3% Latino, 90 % female, 78% never married, 100% welfare, 7.8% job, 97% diploma

5 Black, never married, working,74% female, 66% diploma(50 cases): 95.9% Black, 4% Asian, 73.5% female, 77.5% never married, none on welfare, 68% job, 12% family support, 20% other means of financial support, 66% diploma

6 white women, half welfare, half family support, diploma(14 cases): 100% white, 100% female, 63.6% currently married (all married at some point), 50% welfare, 8.3% job, 41.7% family support, 8.3% immigrant, 100% diploma

There was significant overlap between the two cluster analysis, but not complete overlap for any one cluster:

Comparison of second cluster analysis with clusters including age:

Second Cluster Number	1 (4 65.9%, 2 15%, 1 12.9%)
(1st cluster in brackets)	2 (1 30%, 3 45%)
	3 (6 42.9%, 5 21.4%)
	4 (5 60%, 1 25.9%)
	5 (1 28%, 4 28%, 5 44%)
	6 (5 57.1%, 6 42.9%)

Finally, I combined participants into groups which exclusively included people from different races/nationalities, gender and diploma. Latinos and Asians were combined given small numbers and similar patterns for earlier analysis. The number of people in each of these groups was as follows:

1 Black women, no diploma (75 cases) 23.9%
2 Black women, diploma (133) 39.3%
3 Black men, no diploma (4) 1.3%
4 Black men, diploma (25) 8%
5 White women, no diploma (11) 3.5%
6 White women, diploma (23) 7.3%
7 White men, no diploma (4) 1.3%
8 White men, diploma (12) 3.8%
9 Latina women, no diploma (6) 1.9%
10 Latina/ Asian women, diploma (14) 4.5%
11 Latino men, no diploma (2) .6%
12 Latino/Asian men, diploma (5) 1.6%

None of these clusters by themselves explained the work and training experience of the people in this study. However, by looking at the affects on training and work experience of all of the cluster analysis together revealed a complex set of patterns. These patterns are described next.

Work Experience Patterns:
Work experience varied dramatically across race, nationality, gender, education and marital status. In general, people fell into the following categories:

Limited or no work experience: In addition to the 13 percent of the study population who had never held a job, another 10 percent had only held one job for less than a year, adding up to 23 percent with limited work experience. This group tended to have been on welfare longer: 71 percent had been on welfare 3 years or more.

There was no significant difference across the individual variables of race, nationality or having completed a high school diploma. However, the majority of the people in this category were women who had never married. Latinas were the largest percentage who had never worked at 18 percent. Using the clusters for education, race and diploma, 25 percent of the African American women without a diploma, 24 percent of the African American women with a diploma, 27 percent of white women without a diploma, 33 percent of the Latina women without a diploma, 21 percent of the Latina/Asian women with a diploma, 16 percent of African American men with a diploma and 9 percent of white women with a diploma fell in this category. Looking at the more complex cluster analysis revealed that age was not a factor, but the majority of people in this groups fell into two of the demographic clusters which did not measure age. Forty two percent of the never worked population were in cluster 4 (Black women, never married, diploma, on welfare) and another 28 percent were in cluster 1 (Black women, never married, no diploma, welfare).

These analysis reveal two things about the population with no real work history. First, while not having a high school diploma did not help in finding employment, the majority of people who did not finish high school in fact have worked. The group which has never worked seems to have in common family, neighborhood or personal characteristics which lead them to be isolated from employment networks and to have other issues which keep them from working. Anthropological research on low income populations show that family ties often place women in a dense web of obligations to family and friends. Since work is often unavailable and unreliable, these kinship obligations become more important than work or school. On the other hand, family networks could provide strong supports for these women if some family members are allowed stay home to care for children and continue receiving support from public assistance. If they live in neighborhoods where there are few jobs and their family and friends who do work are not in good jobs, they also may not have someone to refer them to work. African American men lacking similar social ties may be in the same position. Latinas with limited language ability may have even more difficulty (Stack 1974, Oliker 1995, Wilson 1996).

Low skill workers: This group includes men and women with no high school diploma or limited skills who go from low skilled job to low skilled job. Job categories include mostly low end service and semi-skilled helping professions. This group primarily includes women of color. They tend to move between similar kinds of jobs. Seventy-one percent of these people went from one low end service job to a second on just like it. Those who began their careers in part-

time, no benefit helping professions were not able to move up into better positions in this field. Eighty-seven percent of those who were employed in the good nursing assistant positions had a high school diploma. Some were able to move from low end service into helping professions later in their careers. But they mostly ended up in the part-time, low wage positions without health insurance.

This group works more jobs and leaves them more quickly: between 40 percent and 68 percent of people in various kinds of low wage jobs left by 6 months and the majority changed jobs within 2 years. They left primarily because of the nature of the work (low wages, hours, part-time): 38 percent who left first jobs in six months or less left because the job was temporary or part-time, child care or family problems. Forty-one percent left second jobs for the same reason.

Displaced workers: Between 60 percent and 75 percent held their first job for 5 years or more. This group fell into two categories. The first included white and African American men who worked in good paying factory or blue collar jobs. A few professionals also fell into this category. These people stayed in this kind of employment until they were displaced. After losing good, stable jobs, they either could not find work or ended up in service or clerical positions which would end. This group also tends to be older than other participants and include more people who were currently married.

The second group included African American, Latina and white women with high school diplomas and high quality training, often clerical training. These women would start their careers in entry level clerical or professional training and move up in their fields. The Latinas in this population tended to be established on the mainland, not new immigrant populations. This group also lost their jobs due to downsizing and were not able to find comparable work.

Migrants and refugees: Newcomers to the U.S. included mostly Puerto Rican citizens and refugees. These groups fell into two subgroups: highly educated and skilled people who needed to learn the language and gain U.S. mainland experience and people with low skills and limited education.

The refugee population could be further divided into several groups. Eastern Europeans were mostly recent emigres focused on regaining professional qualifications. Southeast Asians had sometimes been in the U.S. a little longer and may have been placed into factory work in the U.S. When those jobs ended, they were unable to find new employment.

The migrant population also falls into several categories. Many have worked a number of jobs. Education level may be low, leading people to move from low skill job to low skill job. Some Puerto Ricans may have not found work on the mainland due to language barriers and lack of connections to employers. Others may work in the car repair shops or stores in the Latino community. These jobs often pay poorly and are part-time with no benefits.

Training and Work Experience Patterns:

People with various demographic and work experience characteristics used training in very different ways. This section discusses those patterns. Analysis included comparing the demographic clusters to general work and training experience and looking at time lines for work and training experience for people with different backgrounds. Findings for this section can be summarized as follows:

- Approximately 2/3rds of people who were in low end service positions before their first training program returned to similar positions. After a second training program, half remained in low end service and half went into part-time, low wage helping profession jobs. Particularly for people without high school diplomas, training meant nursing assistant or food service programs or multiple GED programs. This population appeared to be on a "training track" which led nowhere.

- People with entry-level clerical work experience went into training in either clerical or helping professions (nurses aid, childcare, teacher's aids). The training often translated into related jobs.

- People with previous work experience in helping professions got training in those professions. Training translated into full time, decent paying related jobs primarily for those with high school diplomas.

- Employment in high paid, blue collar jobs had no relationship to training.

Does Training Lead to Work?

Pre-Training Work Experience: The time line analysis counted the number of jobs that people held before and after attending training programs. Sixty-two percent of the study population had not worked before they started their first training program. This statistic is no surprise as many people go directly from high school to training. Eighteen percent had held one job before training, 11 percent two jobs and 10 percent three or more.

Whites entered training much later in their career cycle. Forty-five percent of whites had held two jobs or more before going to a training program. These figures mostly reflect dislocated workers who had gone into work directly out of high school. They enter training only after their stable work ends or they are placed in mandatory community service or job development programs by the Department of Public Welfare when they run through their unemployment and end up on welfare.

Latinos show similar experience, with 23 percent having held two or more jobs before entering training. However, for Latinos, jobs held before training are often less stable positions in the

service sector. In comparison, the majority of African Americans had only worked at one job before entering training.

Forty-seven percent of the study population had not worked before going to their second training program. Nineteen percent had held one job, 14 percent two and 20 percent three or more. Here, a pattern begins to emerge regarding the way that race/nationality and education influence the role of training in a career path. Percentages for African Americans are about even across the number of pre-training jobs. For whites, however, 19 percent had worked at three or more jobs. This trend suggests that some whites return to training late in their careers as retraining after a layoff or to get skills after working for many years.

People who went to more than two training programs were labeled "repeaters". Their experience is discussed in detail below. Looking at the number of jobs before training programs three and four reveals that this population falls into two groups. Sixty-three percent of the study population in a third training program and 72 percent for the fourth program had never held a job before training. This shows a signficant population in this multiple training experience which are simply drifting from program to program.

However, 20 percent for both the third and fourth program had worked three or more jobs before returning to school. This second population includes both low skilled workers who keep returning to training unsuccessfully in order to better their condition and displaced workers who had used training successfully early in their careers but now found themselves displaced as the economy changed.

People often chose training based on their previous work experience. People who had been in a clerical job often went into clerical training. The same was true of people in nursing assistant positions. This study showed that previous related work experience made a profound difference in ability to get a good job in that field after completing training. This was particularly true of clerical positions. Many women went from a part-time clerical position into a clerical training program. These women were most likely to get the good paying, full time clerical jobs with health insurance. While the pattern was not as strong for the semi-skilled helping professions, the same trend appeared in those jobs as well.

Post Training Work Experience: Data on working after training also shows several patterns. There is a significant group of people in this study who did not find work after training. Forty-three percent never worked after their first program. Figures go up after additional programs. Fifty-six percent had not held a job after a second program, 83 percent after a third and 94 percent after a fourth. Since the populations in third and fourth programs largely include people who have never worked, this trend shows that additional training was not able to overcome the multiple barriers which kept these populations out of work. For the displaced workers in these programs, the types of training appears largely unsuccessful at returning them to the workforce.

Training did make a significant difference for a large number of people. Thirty-five percent of the population had held two or more jobs after a first training program and 14 percent held two or more jobs after a second program. Thirty percent had held one job after a second program. Eight percent had held one job after a third program and another 8 percent four or more. The pattern for people who had gone through four training programs indicates that most of these people were low skill workers who went from job to job after training. The six percent who had worked after a fourth training program held three and four jobs.

Length of Time Between Training Programs: People did not go directly from training program to training program. Overall, the average gap between starting training program one and two was slightly over five years, three and a half years between programs two and three and three years between programs three and four. For those who had worked, there are significant gaps between starting a job and returning to school. For both first and second training programs, people started work approximately five years before going back to training. These figures represent both people who worked for several years and then upgraded skills and those who only held a job for a short time and then waited awhile before going back to school. For working populations, the gap between starting work and entering program three was an average of six and a half years. Before program four, the average gap is over nine years. Looking only at repeaters who had worked, the gap between starting their last job and entering their current training program is over nine years, compared to six and a half years for those who had gone to two programs or less. This shows dislocated workers returning to school late in their careers.

Patterns are very different for repeaters who had not worked. Gaps between programs two and three average one year and less than a year between programs three and four. A large part of this trend is due to the PIC training strategy of sending people first to basic skills training and then immediately on to skills training. It also shows that this population needs basic skills remediation before entering training, suggesting multiple barriers to employment which will make it even more difficult for this population to ever find and keep work.

Blue-Collar Jobs and Training

Many people in the training and advocacy communities promote training in construction trades or blue collar skilled trades as a mechanism to get women and people of color into stable, good paying jobs. This study suggests that this strategy does not work. People who graduated from tuition based skills training programs went nowhere. Those who graduated from PIC funded programs were able to get into low paid blue collar jobs, but were not able to move into the stable, good paying positions.

The reasons for this probably reflect the different hiring and referral mechanisms for blue collar employment. Scholars show that these kinds of "primary sector" jobs are found through friends and family (Gordon, Edwards and Reich 1982). Before affirmative action, they were often closed to people of color. In the last three decades, African Americans and established Latinos have also moved into these good jobs. The fact that no-one went from a skills training program

into these kinds of jobs suggests that training does not substitute for access to appropriate networks for primary sector employment. All blue collar work was also greatly affected by the fact that stable, large manufacturing enterprises continue to leave Philadelphia in large numbers. Given an even smaller pool of good, primary sector jobs to go around, it is even harder for newcomers lacking social ties and previous work experience to get them.

While construction jobs involve work in many different kinds and sizes of companies, the best paying union jobs often involve the same kinds of social networks as a basis for getting in to good jobs as working for General Motors. Scholarly research also shows that sexism plays a key role in hiring decisions in both construction and primary sector blue collar employment (Gordon, Edwards and Reich 1982).

The difference between high paying blue collar employment and other kinds of work is also illustrated by the training choices of people who leave these kinds of jobs due to downsizing. None of the people in these positions went into another kind of blue collar skills training. Instead, they went to a scattershot of nursing assistant, short-term clerical and other unrelated programs. Very few of these displaced workers found jobs out of this training.

Relationship of training to previous work experience and demographic characteristics:

Repeaters: Eleven percent of the study population took more than two training programs. This group included only African Americans, whites and established Latinos. African Americans take the most training programs. Repeaters fell into two subpopulations:

- Low skill workers or those with no work experience who continue to use training unsuccessfully to better their situation. The number of these people who had never worked, but continued to go from training program to training program, was actually very small. Only nine people in the study who were repeaters had never worked. There is a 4 to 6 year gap between first and second training programs, but between 0 and 2 years for later programs. Most of the training for this population was in fields which did not lead to stable, well paying jobs. This was particularly true of nursing assistant and foodservice or security programs. Many of these people first went to tuition based programs before gaining entry into the free programs.

- Displaced workers who used training initially to find stable jobs and then return to training after being laid off. Most of this group included people of color. As with other displaced workers, retraining after a lay off seldom leads to stable employment. Clerical workers were sent to short, computerized word processing "brush up" programs. Contrary to assumptions that upgrading skills would lead these people back into the labor market, few found work. These findings suggest that the short courses either do not provide sufficient skills or that the agencies offering this training do not have sufficient connections to the labor market to successfully place their graduates.

Low skill workers: People with limited work experience or without a high school diploma sought training in semi-skilled helping professions, clerical or blue collar trades. People without high school diplomas primarily sought training in semi-skilled helping professions. Training often led back to similar employment or into jobs which required some skills like nursing assistant but which were often part-time and paid badly. People without high school diplomas seldom were able to translate training into good jobs: 86 percent of the people who found moderate wage, full time nursing assistant positions with health care had a high school diploma.

People who use training as a step up in the labor market. This group primarily includes people of color, primarily African Americans and a few established Latino/as. Most people in this group are women. These people have finished high school and may have some previous related work experience before entering training. They take 6 to 12 month training programs, often clerical, which eventually translate into good paying jobs.

This group often shows a progression in employment. Training programs, both free and tuition based, place their clients without previous work experience into entry-level clerical jobs. These people move up into the best paying clerical positions. Those who had been employed in either good clerical jobs or entry-level clerical positions before training moved into the best paying clerical positions.

Some return to college or another related skills training program to get additional training in their field. Those who were dislocated workers were able to find clerical work again after longer term training, but often in lower paying jobs or jobs without health insurance. These downgrades reflect a combination of shifts in the economy and the fact that short placement goals pressure people into lower paid jobs.

Displaced workers: In general, training for displaced workers did little to return them to stable employment. Particularly for people previously employed in factory or skilled trades, training had nothing to do with their previous work experience. The qualitative companion studies to the social network research showed that displaced workers in large companies were either sent to the PIC for retraining or guided toward similar programs through organizations hired to help laid off workers adjust. People in companies too small to offer these services relied on friends and family or information in the media about "growth" industries to look for training for new career paths. Many people thought that learning "computers" or "getting in to health care" would provide them with stable work again. Their training choices reflected the menu available through the training provider network and/or programs that claimed to offer entre into the growth industries. However, since training was short term, the health care programs were primarily for semi-skilled helping professions and "computers" clerical or data entry training. Retraining often meant work at much lower wage rates without benefits. Many found training through a social service agency. Displaced workers fell into two subgroups.

- Whites, primarily men who received no training before entering the labor force or who went into apprentice programs out of high school. This group also included white women

who had obtained good clerical training in high school. After working for most of their careers, they returned to training as a means to reenter the labor force after their company closed or left town.

- People of color, primarily African Americans and some established Latino/as who used training early in their careers to gain entry into good jobs. After being displaced, they return for more training. For women, this often means "brushing up" clerical skills by learning computerized data processing in short term courses. Many men take similar courses or six month training programs. The brush up courses seldom lead to good, stable jobs. Many clerical workers ended up back in clerical positions, but at poorer wages than previous employment and often without benefits.

Migrants and refugees: This group took fewer training programs, often English as a Second Language sometimes followed by a skills training program. Latinos had the least access to training: most were in mandatory community service or GED/ESL programs. They were rarely placed into jobs by the training programs. Jobs were found through family and friends.

The Training Track for African Americans and Latinos:
One of the questions behind this study came from observations that many more African Americans took training programs than other groups and that this training often did not lead to stable employment. The analysis of the social network study questionnaires shows that African Americans do in fact go to training programs much more often than other groups. They are also much more likely to go to vocationally focused programs than any other group. These differences reflect two factors in this community. Many African Americans have observed correctly that education is often a path to economic and social advancement. Like other populations moving out of low skill or blue collar work, the first generation to go to post high school training focuses primarily on skills programs which lead to specific kinds of jobs. Ability to translate training into stable employment depended in part on basic skills.

The second factor leading to a training track involved the information available in the African American community about jobs and training. Due to ongoing discrimination and the tendency of the working and middle class to move away from poor, segregated neighborhoods, many inner city African Americans lack ties to people who have graduated from good training programs who could provide them with first hand information, as well as ties to good jobs through friends and family with stable employment (Wilson 1996). This lack of social networks combines with the fact that this population is much more often connected to the Department of Public Welfare or social service agency programs which steer them toward certain kinds of training. Since social networks play a profound role for everyone in their career and training paths, this study focused on this factor.

The experience of Latinos born and raised on the mainland looked very similar to that of African Americans. This fact reflects that the socio-economic backgrounds, education in public schools, social networks and neighborhood conditions are very similar for these two groups.

Social Networks, Career and Training Paths

Participants were asked how they found training programs and jobs. This information looked for several kinds of resources:

- People known and trusted by participants were designated as friends/family

- Official organizations which could help people were recorded in different ways for training programs and jobs. For training programs, information was collected separately for the Department of Public Welfare and social service agencies, including the PIC. Schools also referred students to programs, particularly college. For jobs, placements by training providers and in a few cases the unemployment office or temp agencies fell under this category.

- Resources found through media or through an individual's own resources. For training programs these included TV, radio and the newspaper; library search or no-one. Job resources in this category included the newspaper, and walk ins. People who used these resources tended to be more socially isolated than other people.

- Recruiters were a source for training programs for both low income people and for college students. Not many people found training through recruiters.

Social networks had a profound affect on getting people into training programs. Access to friends and family with good resources also made a difference in finding work for people in blue collar jobs and professional occupations. For people without ties to people in good jobs, background characteristics of solid basic education mattered more in finding employment. Training programs were best able to place people with good basic credentials.

General Patterns:

Training: Overall, participant heard about training programs in the following way:

Family and Friends	31%
DPW or employment office	16%
Social service agency/PIC	22%
School	10%
TV or radio advertisement	20%

Jobs: Overall resources for jobs also stressed primary social networks:

Friends/family	65%
Training program or DPW	17%
Newspaper	27%
Walked in	38%
Unemployment office	4%
School	3%
Temp agency	1%

There was no difference between men and women in resources used to find either training or employment. People with low education tended to rely more heavily than others on friends and family. Race and nationality did show significant differences only for people referred to training programs by agencies. Twenty-three percent of African Americans, 23 percent of Latinos and 20 percent of Asians found programs through agencies compared to 9 percent for whites. These referral sources mean different things for Asians than for African Americans and Latinos. Asians who get to training programs through agencies are usually refugees who are resettled through a social service process which includes ESL training and skills retraining if appropriate. Many of the whites who got to training through agencies are also refugees from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Latinos and African Americans find agency help because these populations qualify for these services their incomes are low enough to qualify for these "means tested" programs and because these populations have well established patterns of using social service agencies and churches as resources.

Demographic Patterns and Social Networks: The various types of people used resources in different ways. Patterns were as follows:

- **Limited or no work experience.** This population was much more socially isolated than others. Training programs were more often found through official helping networks for this group than for those who worked. Nineteen percent found their first training program through DPW, 35 percent found their second program through a social service agency and thirty-seven percent found a third program through DPW or an agency.

- **Low skill workers:** There was no significant difference among kinds of resources for this group. It often includes a mix of TV/radio, official networks and family.

- **Displaced workers and those who used training as a step us:** As with low skilled workers, this population used a mix of means to find programs. This group included many more who were referred to their first training program by their school. This was particularly true for college students.

- **Migrants and refugees:** While refugees and some newcomer Latinos found programs through official helping networks, training programs did poorly in placing them in jobs. Jobs were found through family and friends.

- **Repeaters:** Low skill workers or those with minimal work experience were referred to training by the department of public welfare and agencies than for other populations. Many of these people also found training through television advertising.

The Training Track and Social Networks: Social resources made a highly significant difference in tracking people into training. People tended to rely on the same resource to find training for first and second programs. Fifty-eight percent who found their first program through friends and family used this resource to find a second program. Sixty-six percent who found

their first program through DPW found their second through either DPW or an agency. This pattern reflects initial DPW referrals which lead people into a PIC training system where the agency where they completed their first program will refer them to a second. People who went to an agency to find a training program once used an agency again 73 percent of the time.

People quickly learned that media advertisements were not the best means to find training, however. Only 26 percent used the media as a resource a second time. A full 48 percent of the people who found their first program through the media went through either DPW or an agency to find their second training experience. Schools also were used for referrals only once.

Repeaters: Use of official networks and the media made a significant difference for repeaters. Eighty percent of repeaters who found their first training program through DPW or an agency found the second in the same way. In comparison, only 50 percent of non-repeaters found their second training program this way. The difference is even more dramatic for those who found training through the media. A full 60 percent of repeaters used advertisements a second time compared to 14 percent for non-repeaters. After two programs found in this way, these people were usually referred to the free system by DPW or an agency. Many of those who used media repeatedly had never worked.

Never Worked: Similar patterns appear for others who have never worked. Again, friends and family are primary resources. The never worked population seems to be referred to training programs twice by DPW, compared to populations which found jobs which progress from finding training through DPW to an agency. This trend suggests that the never worked group are less likely to progress through the training system and end up at DPW starting over again. Agency referrals are used by both populations. Half of those who never worked used the media twice compared to less than 23 percent who found work.

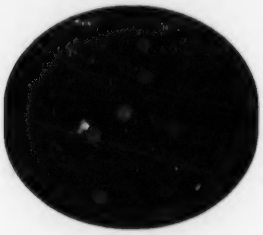
Social Networks and Tuition Based vs Free Programs: Various social networks led people into very different kinds of training experience, which in turn, either allowed their training experience to serve as a step up into the stable labor market or become a training track leading nowhere. This was particularly true for the choice of free or trade school specific skills programs. The first chart shows the kinds of resources used to enter training programs.

Table 2: How Participant Found First Training Program

	GED/Job Prep	JSS, Free	JSS, Cost	College
Friend/family	45%	37%	37%	17%
Welfare	23%	18%	3%	4%
Agency	13%	29%	6%	4%
School	0	2%	6%	39%
TV/Radio	13%	8%	41%	13%

Found 1st Program, %

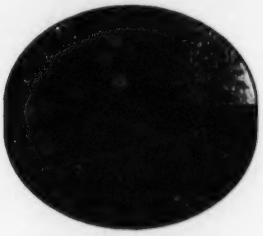
JSS, Free



Friend/family
Agency
TV/Radio
Welfare
School

Found 1st Program, %

Trade Schools



Friend/family
Agency
TV/Radio
Welfare
School

Found 2nd Program, %

JSS, Free

Friend/family
Agency
TV/Radio
Welfare
School

Found 2nd Program, %

Trade Schools

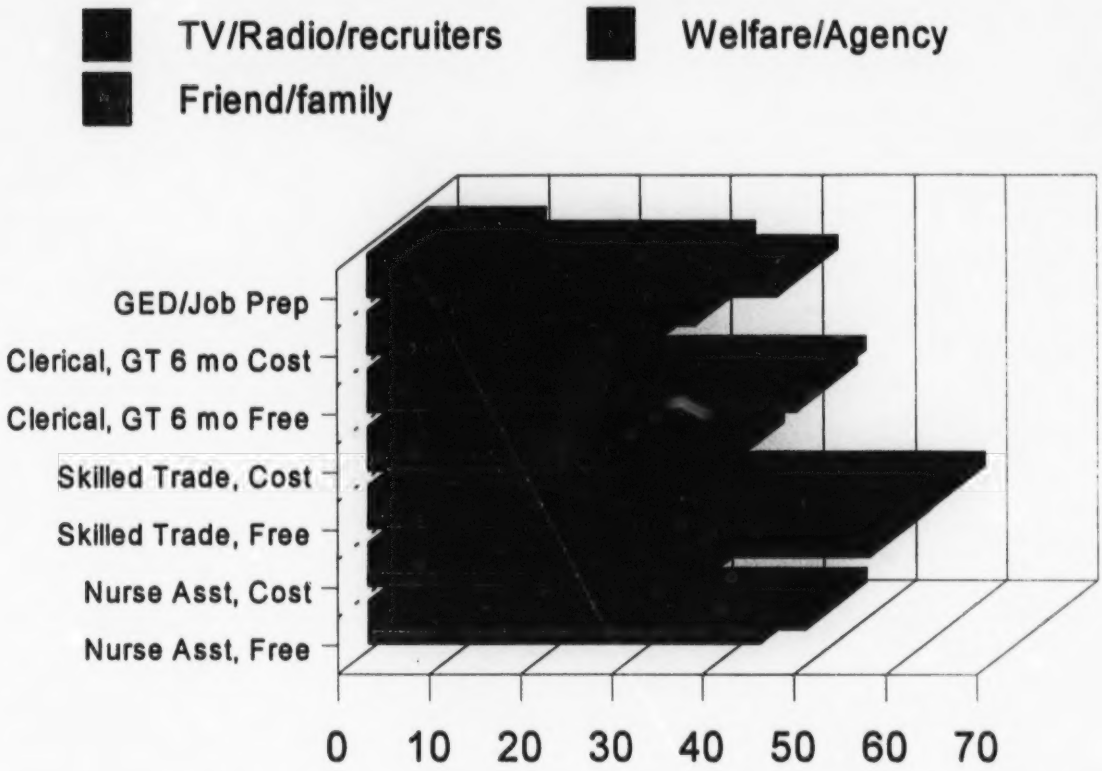
Friend/family
Agency
TV/Radio
Welfare
School

The pie charts show the kinds of resources used to enter training programs for job specific skills programs. These charts show that people in free programs find them through referral from official helping networks and friends and family. The same patterns hold for both first and second programs. On the other hand, first trade school programs are found primarily through recruiters or friends and family. For second programs, referral comes most often from a advertisements. Social networks provide different kinds of information. Family and friends who have connections to training programs or jobs which provide quality training or pay well are an invaluable resources. On the other hand, family and friends who are themselves low skill workers with limited success with training could provide bad advice. Employees of official organizations or non-profit agencies can also provide good or bad advice. Individuals have no independent way to evaluate the quality of a program found through an advertisement. This pattern suggests that people in first trade school programs may either be getting good advice or being lured to bad programs through ads. These are people with limited resources who often drop out of programs or find poor programs. Second programs show even more social insolation as most of these people find programs through the media.

While not pictured here, patterns for GED and job preparation programs are similar to that for free job specific skills programs. Forty-five percent found the first training program through friends and family, but only 13 percent for the second program. The Department of Public Welfare referred 23 percent of the people in first programs and 44 percent for second programs. Second programs may include more mandatory training. Social service agencies provided resources for 13 percent for first programs and 26 percent for second programs. People found colleges primarily through their schools (39%) and friends and family (17%).

How Found 1st Program

Type of Program



This next chart looks more closely at the resources that participants in different kinds of programs used to find their first training program. The same patterns hold for the second program. Patterns for free programs are the same for both clerical and nursing assistant programs: approximately even numbers of people are finding their programs through family and friends or organizations. On the other hand, free skilled trade programs are found primarily through agencies. An overwhelming number of tuition based nursing assistant programs are found through advertisements. Tuition based skilled trades are recommended through friends and family as well as found through the media. Tuition based clerical programs are found through all three sources.

Training Quality and Social Networks: The quality of training can be measured first by whether people finish the program. Recall that drop out rates are very high for the tuition based programs, but very low for the free programs except skilled trades. These statistics suggest that people entering most of the free programs are satisfied enough with their programs to complete them and have the basic educational skills and motivation to complete the program. Low drop out rates may also be due in part to the fact that many of the free programs offer participants case management to help them handle life problems which may interfere with completing their training. Many of the trade schools do not offer this service. In terms of social networks, these differences imply that information from someone who has direct knowledge of a program but no vested interest in that program is more likely to give advice on the best program for that individual. On the other hand, the recruiters and media advertisements only show the school's view of their program.

Given that the drop out rate for free skilled trades programs is 22 percent and that over fifty percent of people in those programs are referred by an agency or the Unemployment office or Department of Public Welfare, these data suggest that evaluation for this population is not as good. Since the skilled trade programs serve mostly men, this suggests that the mechanisms evaluating men for training are not as good as those for women.

GED and job preparation programs reflect another set of factors. Much of the scholarly literature on adult basic education reports high drop out rates (for example Herr and Halpern 1991, 1994). The twenty-one percent drop out rate for first GED programs in this study is actually comparatively low. The ethnographic companion study suggests that people drop out of adult basic education programs because they are frustrated with their pace through these programs and their continued need for them. Many people in GED programs dropped out because they disliked schooling and these programs too often remind them of these bad experiences. Many would prefer to be doing something more directly related to getting a job and drop out because they do not easily see the relationship between slow pace toward basic skills and eventual employment. In this case, the agencies which are the second largest referral source for this type of program may in fact be mandating programs or steering people who request skills training toward basic skills.

Quality of the program can partly be measured by whether or not graduates get related jobs. As reported in earlier sections, graduates of nursing assistant positions had variable success finding related employment depending on the type of training and their background characteristics. Clerical program graduates of both free and tuition based programs were able to find work. Skilled trade programs were less successful at placing their graduates into good programs with a career ladder. However, it is important to note that programs can not be held completely accountable for results because the basic skills that a person brings into a program powerfully effect the kind of training that they get and their ability to make use of it. Attitude or family, health and substance abuse problems also affect who finds work after a program and who does not. Even the best training programs can also not control the economy or the contracting

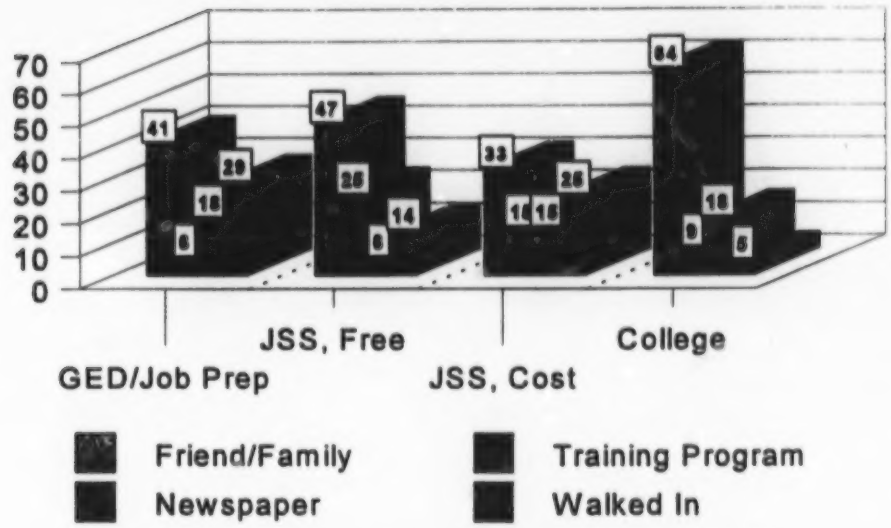
conditions which may impact on their service strategies. Those contract provisions will be discussed in the next section.

Social Networks and the Role of Training Programs in Finding Work

This section looks at the social networks that participants used to find jobs out of training programs. As with training programs, friends and family were the most frequent resources used by most people in finding jobs. In general, the least educated populations and migrants and refugees used friends and family more often than other methods to find work. People who found a job through "walking in" tended to be me more isolated in terms of personal resources: the same people who found training through TV or other advertisements were more likely to find jobs by walking in. For example, 33 percent of the people who found work after a tuition based nursing assistant program "walked in" to that employer. People who graduated from training programs and college were more likely to use the newspaper than less educated people.

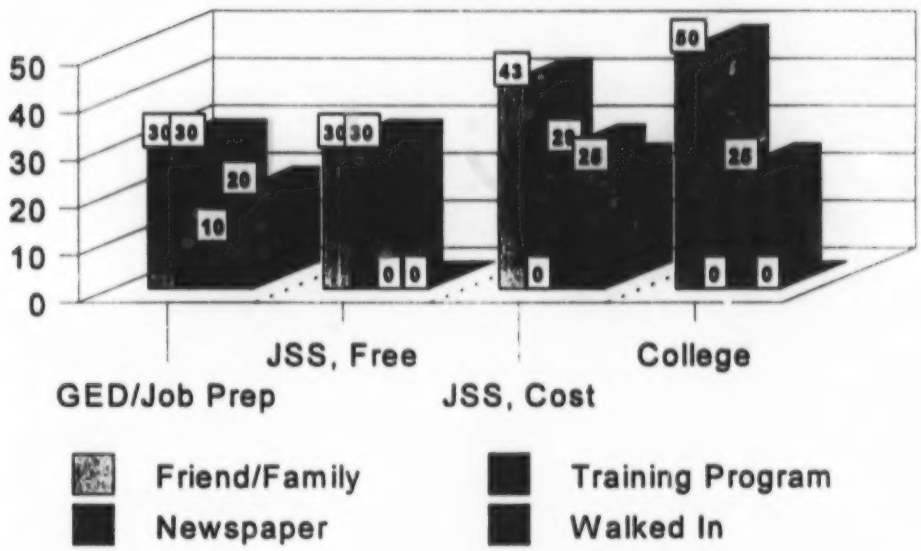
How Found Next Job

1st Training Program



How Found Next Job

2nd Training Program



These charts show the way that people found work after their first and second training programs. College graduates depend most often on friends and family. Part of this trend is due to the fact that community colleges ordinarily do not have active placement offices for their graduates. Friends and family for people with the basic education to finish college may also have better resources than for other populations.

Placement through a direct referral from a training agency happened most often for free job specific skills programs. For first programs, 25 percent of placements were through program job developers and 30 percent were placed directly by the program out of a second training experience. Tuition based job specific skills programs do a much poorer job of actively placing their participants. Only 15 percent reported finding work through their training program for the first program and none for the second. These figures suggest that the tuition based programs put much less emphasis on placement than the government funded programs. Government funded GED and job placement programs only succeeded in finding participants jobs for six percent of their participants for the first program, but reached 30 percent for a second program. Part of the difference here is accounted for by the fact that more second training experiences in this category were job readiness programs. In first programs, 35 percent of participants in this category were in job preparation and placement programs compared to 62 percent for the second program. Even with this difference in focus, the job preparation programs were not the most frequent source for employment for their participants. Only 25 percent of the people in job preparation in program two found their jobs through the training program.

Performance Based Contracts versus Tuition Payments in Program Outcomes

Most of the training documented in this study occurred during the time that the PIC funded training for agencies without a commonwealth set tuition rate as performance based cost reimbursement contracts with a hold back of 30 percent pending job placement. Agencies working under contract with the PIC had to pay close attention to meeting their placement goals in order to receive full funding for their contract. Contracting pressures clearly affect placement strategies for PIC funded programs. Programs had 90 days to find their participants work which paid $6.00 an hour, full time, preferably with health insurance. Given the labor market, agencies often found themselves choosing between placing people into part-time, training related employment or full time unrelated jobs with similarly poor wages and working conditions.

For many programs working with participants with limited previous work experience, and working against the cultural prejudices of moving inner-city people of color into "mainstream" jobs, their graduates too often found the same kinds of employment that they were attempting to escape. This pattern is most acute for the nursing assistant programs. Fifty percent of the people in part-time nursing assistant positions without health insurance came out of free nursing assistant programs. Twenty-one percent after program one and 44 percent after program two of the people in full-time low end service jobs graduated from free nursing assistant programs.

Forty percent of the people in low paid, part time blue collar jobs came out of free nursing assistant programs. This pattern suggests that the programs found nursing assistant positions, either full or part time, for as many graduates as possible. Since they encouraged their participants to find jobs in order to meet placement goals, those who could not find related work returned to low end service positions or blue collar jobs through their existing networks. The pressure for quick placement would encourage this trend. The fact that most agencies could not afford to work with former clients after the 90 day placement period was up also meant that people who did not find related jobs were left to their limited social networks after failing to find work through agency job developers.

Participants with better preparation were placed in better jobs. Eighty-seven percent of the people in well paid, full time nursing assistant positions had high school diplomas. Qualitative data suggests that this finding is due to the fact that employers are more willing to take a risk on someone with basic educational credentials. However, participants without high school diplomas placed into lower wage or part-time nursing assistant programs out of free programs were able to move up into the moderate wage jobs. Only 68 percent of the people in these good nursing assistant programs as their second job out of a free training program had a high school diploma. This suggests that placing people without high school in a part-time nursing assistant job may be a better long term strategy than placement into unrelated positions.

The tuition based nursing assistant programs often led nowhere. Twenty-three percent of the people in part-time, low-end service jobs came out of these programs and few were in nursing assistant jobs. In some cases, trade school program graduates could move into nursing care, but into the worst positions. Thirty-eight percent of the people in part-time, low wage, no health insurance nursing assistant positions as a second job came out of the paid programs.

Both free and tuition based clerical programs were often able to serve as career paths for their participants. Starting with people with better basic skills, they were able to place participants into entry-level, full time jobs without health insurance. Many of these people were able to move up into better jobs. The same pattern was true for the greater than six month tuition based programs and free programs, showing the variability in quality and participant characteristics among tuition based programs.

Overall, none of these programs could escape the overwhelming importance of the local socio-economic system and their participants place within it. Previous work experience, and the social characteristics of attitude, speech patterns and neighborhood based social networks played a profound role in participant outcomes. Over 70 percent of the people in low end service jobs before entering training returned to similar positions. People in clerical positions before going to school were able to upgrade their employment in that field. Nursing assistants remained in similar helping professions.

These findings on job placements show performance based contracts do impact on the performance of contractors. This study suggests that the free programs put much more energy

into placements. They also suggest that letting the market rule the training choices for low wage workers often leads to disaster as people lacking the social networks and other tools to evaluate training programs often simply end up with huge debts which place further burden on government guarantee associations. But limiting non-profit agency payments and demanding short-term placement goals for populations needing long term assistance and follow-up also has unintended negative effects. The types of performance goals stipulated in these JTPA and JOBS funded programs work for populations prepared to benefit from training, but do not help those most needing to escape poverty.

Conclusion

The social network study found several clear patterns for employment and training for workers from disadvantaged populations. The first clear finding is that the population on public assistance is extremely diverse. The dramatic differences in career and training paths across race/nationality and gender reveals that patterns of discrimination, as well as socialization toward certain kinds of employment, persists in the 1990s. Part of this is due to the extreme segregation of Philadelphia and the poor quality of its public schools. The fact that many of the people who had never worked or were in low end service jobs despite training had finished high school shows the quality of the education for many low wage workers in Philadelphia.

Part of this difference in career and training paths is also due to social networks and agency mandates. Friends and family can only provide advice based on their own experience and world view. Public and non-profit agencies are constrained by the available pool of programs and their own training about appropriate career and training paths for the people they serve. Both agency rules and the training program system is further shaped by commonwealth and federal policy or foundation trends. This means that most people go to short term programs or trade schools funded through student loans because this is what is readily available through existing systems.

The study also highlights the fact that in many cases the population working in low wage or even working class jobs is interchangeable with the population on welfare. Given that 94 percent of the people in this study had been on public assistance at some time in their lives, and that 87 percent had worked for wages as adults, policy makers and program developers can not assumes that this population simply needs training for appropriate jobs or work experience.

Since most of the people in this study had gone through multiple training programs, it is also not safe to assume that training alone is the answer. The second major finding is that appropriate training, combined with appropriate work experience and solid basic skills leads to long term, stable employment. This finding suggests that the best strategy for all programs is to create experiences that combine all three factors. The best option is not work **or** training, but work **and** training.

The choice of type of training for different individuals reflects a combination of individual choice and available options. A statistical study like the social network study can not easily measure the process of personal choice. Nor did this study collect information which could evaluate such intangible factors as attitude, ability to work in different kinds of environments or the family or personal problems which can shape the ability of any individual to successfully complete training or find and keep a good paying job. However, this study does point to some differences that program designers should keep in mind.

People without a high school diploma need to finish a GED as a first step toward stable employment. This study shows that those without high school diplomas have limited training options and even more limited employment opportunities. However, given the difficulties in completing a GED, combining GED preparation with appropriate work experience and related skills training may be a better option than simply expecting people to complete a GED before entering training or finding a good job.

The high drop out rate for college shows that many of the people in this population are not prepared to succeed in a college environment. The fact that many college graduates found work in fields unrelated to their training also shows that college may not be the best choice for all low income people. However, college did make a significant difference for some people in this population. This suggests that college should be one option in a menu of training programs.

Job specific skills programs helped some people but not others. Four factors in combination influenced the ability of a job specific skills program to provide a career path for its students: 1) the quality of the program, 2) the basic skills and life conditions of its students, 3) the nature of the work available for people with that particular type of training and 4) the ability of the program to successfully place its students in those jobs. Since these four factors can not be easily measured, finding the "best" programs requires thoughtfully looking at the ways that these factors work together for different kinds of employment.

Given that many people who found good jobs relied on friends and family as a referral source to work, developing mentoring programs which connect people who lack these ties to people working in that field is one strategy which could help some people move from welfare to work. Mentoring or buddy programs provide training program students with direct advice on many important aspects of work like appropriate dress, workplace behavior, how to write an appropriate resume and cover letter as well as insider connections to employers.

This study shows the importance of policy makers designing more flexible and long term outcome measures geared toward multiple populations. They also need to take into account the consequences of funding requirements and performance standards on program design. Most policy is based on assumptions that contractors are simply making a product, be clear enough about the design specifications and monitor ability to meet those standards, and the required results will follow. But people are not widgets. They come with a variety of background characteristics which affect their progress through programs and have the free will to choose if,

when and how they use their training. Policy needs to reflect this dynamic understanding of social structure. Performance standards need to reflect evaluation procedure that accounts for long term outcomes and uses more sophisticated models with different characteristics for populations with varying education and work experience. Contracts which hold back funds based on short term, rigid performance standards are particularly corrosive in giving agencies the funding they need in order to meet the intent of policy. Instead, these contracting mechanisms should be replaced with incentive structures developed to reflect appropriate strategies for differing populations. These types of mechanisms are best developed with agency subcontractors.

This report recognizes that the PIC has little control over performance standards. However, there is room for creativity if the agency is able to develop a longer term strategy for contract performance which views participation in PIC programs as only one step in a career path for participants. The system in place when this study was conducted did seem to work reasonably well for the population with a high school diploma and the social skills to succeed in the workplace. It is far less successful with people who lack this basic credential or who have graduated from high school but have poor math and reading skills. A large part of the problem is the nature of the work available for this population rather than the training itself. Nursing assistant and foodservice positions with poor working conditions do not provide the money to get a family out of poverty or the schedule to allow a single mother to manage her household and children.

If these programs are the only option, it would serve the PIC well to take conscious efforts to work with the health care community and appropriate non-profits and foundations in order to ensure that people placed into this kind of work receive longer term social supports and encouragement to finish a GED and move on to other education systems. Given that career paths depend on gaining experience in that particular field, greater emphasis should be placed on finding related employment in an appropriately supportive environment rather than placement at a given wage rate. It is also essential that the training community find ways to work with the business community to find ways to make sure that low wage workers get insurance for the entire family after the year of free medicaid is over. It is also essential that subsidized childcare and social supports remain available for those who need them. This implies that the PIC and other agencies need to play an active role in efforts to address the quality of life issues which make it difficult for people to juggle work and family.

Finally, this study primarily includes people who are in training either because they lost jobs or are dissatisfied with their previous employment. The fact that dislocated workers with good work histories, solid basic skills and sometimes good training could not find adequate employment again suggests that even the best training system will not work without connections to employers in a vibrant economy offering stable employment. Workforce development systems are only as good as the economies in which they function. Effective policy and program development must pay equal attention to local economic development.

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Appendix A: Differences Between Agencies Participating in the Study:

This study drew participants from eight PIC funded training programs and community college. Percentages in each program were as follows:

Institute for the Study of Civic Values unemployed parents initiative:	8%
Community Women's Education Project:	10%
People's Emergency Center:	13%
Community College of Philadelphia:	12%
Arbor-Cite	20%
OIC	8%
1199c	4%
ISCV program prep project	5%
PIC Upfront	17%
PHDC	2%

For the purposes of the analysis, the ISCV Alternative Work Experience Program was divided into two groups. The unemployed parents program served an older population, largely male and more white which was oriented toward finding immediate employment. The program preparation group included people who had recently graduated from PIC funded feeders and were waiting to enter job specific skills programs. This population was classified as a feeder. In the more general analysis, the ISCV unemployed parents program was labeled "mandatory community service", the second ISCV program and CWEP were grouped together as feeders, the PEC population was labeled as shelter because they differed significantly from other feeder programs, Arbor and 1199c were job specific skills programs primarily serving women and OIC and PHDC were job specific skills programs serving men. The PIC upfront program was classified as mandatory job development.

General Demographic Differences

In general, the PEC population was the youngest, female, the least educated, and had more limited work experience. The ISCV AWEP-UP population showed the opposite trend with the oldest, better educated and more male population.

Age: PEC had the youngest group with 26 percent between 18 and 21, 40 percent under 25 and another 36 percent between 25 and 36. ISCV had most of the over 45 population at 32 percent of that group over 45. This percentage was much higher than for any other program. The bulk of the population for other programs were in the prime working ages of 22 to 45. Arbor and OIC had a higher percentage in the older end of that range. Both had 36 percent of their populations at 36 to 45.

Race:
Mandatory and Feeder Programs:
ISCV AWEP-UP had the most white (Black 25%, white 42.9%, Hispanic 17.9%, Asian 10.7%)
PIC Upfront (Black 82.4%, white 11.8%, Hispanic 3.9%)
CWEP also much more white(Black 42.9%, white 37.1%, Hispanic 17.9%)
PEC (Black 90.5%, white 7.1%)
ISCV Program Preparation (100% Black)
CCP (Black 55.3%, white 26.3%, Hispanic 7.9%, Asian 5.3%)

Job Specific Skills
All mostly Black:

Arbor	85.5%
OIC	88.5%
1199C	92.9%
PHDC	100%

Gender:
ISCV 67.9% male, PIC Upfront 8.9% male
All feeders 89-100% female
JSS female 100% female
JSS male OIC 64% male, PHDC 50% male
CCP 76.9% female

Ever Married:

ISCV	93%
PIC upfront	41%
CWEP	38%
PEC	11%
ISCV program prep	29%
Arbor	28%
1199c	21%
OIC	31%
PHDC	50%
CCP	45%

Immigrant Most were in the ISCV AWEP-UP program(43.5%) and CCP (16.2%). The rest were 8% or less.

Education: ISCV had most college (36%), next PIC upfront (13%), not counting CCP (53%)

Finish high school:

ISCV	75%
PIC Upfront	61%,
CWEP	55%
ISCV program prep	53%
PEC	20%
Arbor	65%
1199c	54%
OIC	29%
PHDC	33%
CCP	79%

Finish GED: The people in technical training programs and CCP had finished GEDs

Diploma (GED or Finish High School):

ISCV AWEP-UP	68% (the difference here is caused by missing data for finish high school)
PIC Upfront	66%
CWEP	60%
ISCV program prep	78%
PEC	35%
Arbor	84%
1199c	71%
OIC	46%
PHDC	67%
CCP	95%

Attended Training Programs: There was no significant difference in number of programs taken or completion rates among programs.

Current Student Loans:

ISCV AWEP-UP	17%
PIC upfront	65%
CWEP	50%
PEC	46%
ISCV Program Prep	50%
Arbor	81%
1199c	46%
OIC, PHDC	samples too small to measure
CCP	62%

Types of Training Programs Taken Before Current Program:

Data processing(p000): CWEP(45.5%), PEC (39%), Arbor (71%), CCP(23%), 1199c(21.4%), CCP (23%)

Skilled trades(p000): Men's programs ISCV (27.3%), CCP (23.3%), OIC (39%), PHDC (60%)

College (p000) :ISCV (31%), CCP (58%)

Nursing Asst(p000): 1199c (91%), CWEP (23%), PEC (16%),OIC(23%), PIC Upfront (19%), PHDC (40% , but only 2 people)

Business(p001): ISCV (17.4%), PEC (47.8%), CCP (21.9%), Arbor (18%) OIC (18%), ISCV Program Prep (20%)

Foodservice(p000): OIC (39.1)

Completed program:

Yes: *Mandatory, good completion rates*: ISCV(50 % completed something 22.7% 1 program, 13.6% 2, 13.6% 3) , Upfront (65.8 % completed something 32.6% 1 program, 23.3% 2)

Feeder less good: CWEP (32 % completed 1 program), PEC (54.8 % completed something 51.6% 1 program, 3.2% 2), ISCV Program Prep (64.3 % completed something 42.9% 1 program, 21.4% 2)

JSS women, more programs completed: Arbor (55.6 % completed something 41.3% 1 program, 12.7% 2, 1.6% 3), 1199c (64.3 % completed something 42.9% 1 program, 21.4% 2)

JSS male, similar: OIC (54.2 % completed something 29.2% 1 program, 25% 2)PHDC sample too small

CCP most programs: (70 % completed something 46.7% 1 program, 16.7% 2, 6.7% 3)

Did not complete:

Feeder population more likely to drop out: CWEP (72.7 % not completed something 50% 1 program, 13.6% 2, one each 3 and 4) PEC (64.8 % not completed something 48.4% 1 program, 6.5% 2), ISCV Program Prep (35.7 % not completed something 28.6% 1 program, 7.1% 2)

CCP also high (33.3 % not completed something 26.7% 1 program, 6.7% 2)

JSS Programs: between 20 and 25%, mostly 1 program

Number of jobs: Largest percentages never worked are Arbor (23.9%) and 1199c (30.8%). Programs with older people have more jobs.

How Hear about program:

Friends and Family (p01): Low for ISCV (27.3), CCP (16.7%), Arbor (22.6%),1199c(28.6%), PIC upfront (25.6%), rest between 40% and 50%

DPW(p005): PIC Upfront (30%), PHDC (60%), rest under 20%

Agency(p000): Female JSS high: Arbor 32.2%, 1199c 71.4%
CCP 26.7%, rest 15% or less

School(p03):CCP 29%, rest less than 15%
Media no difference
Military only ISCV

Types of Jobs Held: There was no statistically significant difference for many types of employment. Significant differences occurred for the following jobs:

Cashier (p002): *Feeder lots of experience*: CWEP (31% yes, 20.7% 1, 6.9%2, 3.4% 3), PEC (63% yes, 34.3% 1, 5.7%2, 2.9% 3), ISCV Program Prep (86.7% yes, 46.7% 1,26.7%2, 13.3% 3)
Mandatory less: ISCV AWEP-UP (14.8%), PIC Upfront (23.5%)
JSS women most: Arbor (54.9% yes, 37.3% 1, 5.9%2, 5.9% 3, 5.9% 4), 1199c (44.4% yes, 22.2% 1, 22.2%2)
JSS male, less likely: OIC(16.7%), PHDC (40%)
CCP (25.7%)
Nursing Assistant(p02): CWEP (24%), OIC (21%), 1199c(33.3% but only 3), PHDC 20% 1 person)

Had a Job which Provided Health Insurance (p03): high is CCP (54%), PIC upfront (47%), PHDC (60%), rest 40% or less

Reasons for leaving work: Only Business closed significant: ISCV (59.3%), Arbor (31.4%), OIC (29.2%), ISCV Program Prep (40%), PIC upfront (43.1%), PHDC (60%), rest less than 20%

Reason left last job (p001):

ISCV AWEP-UP	40% laid off
CWEP:	19% childcare, laid off
PEC:	34% childcare, 12.5% temp/part time and other
CCP:	21.7% still there, 13.6% laid off, went to school
Arbor:	31.8% maternity, 27% child care, 13.6% laid off
OIC:	21% temp/part time, 15.8% laid off
1199c:	33% maternity
ISCV Program Prep:	No pattern
PIC-upfront:	28.6% temp/part time 21.4% laid off
PHDC:	No Pattern

Length of last job(p02):

Under 1 year: CWEP 51.7, PEC 70.6%, Arbor 46.6%, OIC 52.4%, ISCV Program Prep 60%, Pic-Upfront 42.8%

Over 2 years: ISCV 48%, CWEP 31%, CCP 45.4%, OIC 33.3%, 1199c 42.9%, PIC upfront 28.6%, PHDC 40%

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Appendix B: Questionnaire

Education/Employment History Survey

ID #_____ Year_____

(Please circle one response:)

1. Age: 1:under 18 2:18-21 years 3:22-25 years 4:26-35 years 5:36-45 years 6:45 or older

2. Ethnic Background: 1:Black 2:White 3:Hispanic 4:Asian 5:Native American
6:Biracial (Please Specify)_____ 7:Other_____

3. Sex: 0:Male 1:Female

4. Have you ever been married? 1:Yes 0:No 5. Are you still? 1:Yes 0:No

6. Do you have any children? 1:Yes 0:No 7a. How many?___ b.Ages:____ ____ ____ ____ ____ ____

8a. Did you come from another country? 1:Yes 0: No b. What year?_____ c. Which country?_____

9. What was the last year of school you completed?: 8 9 10 11 12 college other_____
10.Did you graduate from high school? 1:Yes ***(Go to Question 14)*** 0:No
11.If you did not graduate, do you have a GED? 1:Yes 0:No
12.If you did not graduate, why did you leave school?

13a.Were you in the military? 1:Yes 2:No b.If so, how long?_____ c.Did you receive a honorable discharge? 1:Yes 0:No
d.Why did you join? 1:Friend/family 2:training prog./DPW 3:Newspaper 4:Walked in 5:Unemployment
6:Recruiter

14.TRAINING PROGRAMS

Please answer these questions about any training programs, GEDs, business schools or colleges you participated in after you left school. Please answer these questions for each training program that you attended after you left high school (not including present program). If you have not completed any training programs please go to Question 15.

FIRST TRAINING PROGRAM:

a. How old were you when you started the program?_____ What year was that?_____
b. Type of program ***(Please circle one):***
1:Data processing/Clerical 2:Hairstyling 3:Skilled trades 4:College 5:Childcare 6:Human Services
7:Nursing Asst./Home health care 8:LPN/RN/Medical technician 9:Business 10:GED/ABE 11:Cashier
12:Sewing 13:Job preparation 14:Food Service 15:Bookkeeping 16:Security 17:Other_____

c. How long was the program? 1:0-2 mo. 2:3-6 mo. 3:6 mo. to 1 yr. 4:1 to $1^1/_2$ yrs. 4:over $1^1/_2$ yrs.
d. Did you complete the program? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Still Attending
e. If yes, did it result in employment in one year's time? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Employed but in an unrelated job
f. How much did it cost? 1: $0 2:less than $100 3: $101-500 4:$501-2,000 5:more than $2,001
g. How did you hear about the program?

(No more training programs? Go to Question 15.)

SECOND TRAINING PROGRAM:

a. How old were you when you started the program?_____ What year was that?_____
b. Type of program ***(Please circle one):***
1:Data processing/Clerical 2:Hairstyling 3:Skilled trades 4:College 5:Childcare 6:Human Services
7:Nursing Asst./Home health care 8:LPN/RN/Medical technician 9:Business 10:GED/ABE 11:Cashier
12:Sewing 13:Job preparation 14:Food Service 15:Bookkeeping 16:Security 17:Other_____

c. How long was the program? 1:0-2 mo. 2:3-6 mo. 3:6 mo. to 1 yr. 4:1 to $1^1/_2$ yrs. 4:over $1^1/_2$ yrs.
d. Did you complete the program? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Still Attending
e. If yes, did it result in employment in one year's time? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Employed but in an unrelated job
f. How much did it cost? 1: $0 2:less than $100 3: $101-500 4:$501-2,000 5:more than $2,001
g. How did you hear about the program?

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THIRD TRAINING PROGRAM:

a. How old were you when you started the program?_____ What year was that?_____

b. Type of program ***(Please circle one):***

1:Data processing/Clerical 2:Hairstyling 3:Skilled trades. 4:College 5:Childcare 6:Human Services
7:Nursing Asst./Home health care 8:LPN/RN/Medical technician 9:Business 10:GED/ABE 11:Cashier
12:Sewing 13:Job preparation 14:Food Service 15:Bookkeeping 16:Security 17:Other_____

c. How long was the program? 1:0-2 mo. 2:3-6 mo. 3:6 mo. to 1 yr. 4:1 to 1 1/2 yrs. 4:over 1 1/2 yrs.

d. Did you complete the program? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Still Attending

e. If yes, did it result in employment in one year's time? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Employed but in an unrelated job

f. How much did it cost? 1: $0 2:less than $100 3: $101-500 4:$501-2,000 5:more than $2,001

g. How did you hear about the program?

(No more training programs? Go to Question 15.)

FOURTH TRAINING PROGRAM:

a. How old were you when you started the program?_____ What year was that?_____

b. Type of program ***(Please circle one):***

1:Data processing/Clerical 2:Hairstyling 3:Skilled trades 4:College 5:Childcare 6:Human Services
7:Nursing Asst./Home health care 8:LPN/RN/Medical technician 9:Business 10:GED/ABE 11:Cashier
12:Sewing 13:Job preparation 14:Food Service 15:Bookkeeping 16:Security 17:Other_____

c. How long was the program? 1:0-2 mo. 2:3-6 mo. 3:6 mo. to 1 yr. 4:1 to 1 1/2 yrs. 4:over 1 1/2 yrs.

d. Did you complete the program? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Still Attending

e. If yes, did it result in employment in one year's time? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Employed but in an unrelated job

f. How much did it cost? 1: $0 2:less than $100 3: $101-500 4:$501-2,000 5:more than $2,001

g. How did you hear about the program?

15. LOANS

a. Did you take out a loan to pay for your training or education? 1:Yes 0:No 2: Not sure

b. How much? 1: $0 2:less than $100 3: $101-500 4:$501-2000 5:$2001 or more

c. For which training programs (circle programs as numbered above) 1:First 2: Second 3:Third 4:Fourth

d. Do you still owe money? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Not sure

e. Has your loan gone to a collection agency? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Not sure

16.WORK EXPERIENCE

Now please answer these questions about your work experience. Please start with the first job that you had after you left high school. If you have no work experience please go to Question 17.

FIRST JOB:

a. How old were you when you started the job?_____ What year was that?_____

b. Type of Job ***(please circle one)***

1:Cashier 2:Computer/Clerical 3:Auto machanic 4:Nursing Asst./Home health care
5:LPN/RN/Medical Technician 6:Childcare 7:Maid 8:Teacher's aid 9:Security guard 10:Sales
11:Gas attendant 12:Laundry 13:Truck Driver 14:Bus matron 15:Factory worker 16:Factory Driver
17:Hairstyling 18:Maintenance/Construction 19:Restaurant work 20:Other_____

c. How long did you work? 1:Under 6 months 2:6 to 11 months 3:1 to 2 years 4:2 to 5 years 5:Over 5 years

d. How were you employed? 1:Full-time 2:Part-time

e. Were you receiving health insurance? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Not sure

f. What was your highest hourly wage? 1:$5 or under 2:$5.01 to $7 3:$7.01 to $9 4:$9.01 to $11 5:Over $11.01
6:Not U.S., working class wage 7:Not U.S., professional wage

g. Why did you leave your job? ***(please circle all that apply)***

1:Maternity 2:Childcare/Family problems 3:Temporary/Part-time 4:Bad conditions/Didn't like boss
5:No benefits 6:Deadend job 7:Racism/Sexism 8:Laid off/Business closed 9:Injured 10:Fired 11:Better job
12:Health/Family health 13:Went to School 14:Sexual harassment 15:Quit 16:Emmigration 17:Other_____

h. How did you find this job? ***(please circle one)***

1:Friend/family 2:Training program or DPW 3:Newspaper 4:Walked in 5:Unemployment 6:Other_____

SECOND JOB: *(No more jobs? Go to Question 17.)*

a. How old were you when you started the job?_____ What year was that?_____

b. Type of Job *(please circle one)*

1:Cashier 2:Computer/Clerical 3:Auto machanic 4:Nursing Asst./Home health care
5:LPN/RN/Medical Technician 6:Childcare 7:Maid 8:Teacher's aid 9:Security guard 10:Sales
11:Gas attendant 12:Laundry 13:Truck Driver 14:Bus matron 15:Factory worker 16:Factory Driver
17:Hairstyling 18:Maintenance/Construction 19:Restaurant work 20:Other_____

c. How long did you work? 1:Under 6 months 2:6 to 11 months 3:1 to 2 years 4:2 to 5 years 5:Over 5 years

d. How were you employed? 1:Full-time 2:Part-time

e. Were you receiving health insurance? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Not sure

f. What was your highest hourly wage? 1:$5 or under 2:$5.01 to $7 3:$7.01 to $9 4:$9.01 to $11 5:Over $11.0
6:Not U.S., working class wage 7:Not U.S., professional wage

g. Why did you leave your job? *(please circle all that apply)*

1:Maternity 2:Childcare/Family problems 3:Temporary/Part-time 4:Bad conditions/Didn't like boss
5:No benefits 6:Deadend job 7:Racism/Sexism 8:Laid off/Business closed 9:Injured 10:Fired 11:Better jo
12:Health/Family health 13:Went to School 14:Sexual harassment 15:Quit 16:Emmigration 17:Other_____

h. How did you find this job? *(please circle one)*

1:Friend/family 2:Training program or DPW 3:Newspaper 4:Walked in 5:Unemployment 6:Other_____

THIRD JOB: *(No more jobs? Go to Question 17.)*

a. How old were you when you started the job?_____ What year was that?_____

b. Type of Job *(please circle one)*

1:Cashier 2:Computer/Clerical 3:Auto machanic 4:Nursing Asst./Home health care
5:LPN/RN/Medical Technician 6:Childcare 7:Maid 8:Teacher's aid 9:Security guard 10:Sales
11:Gas attendant 12:Laundry 13:Truck Driver 14:Bus matron 15:Factory worker 16:Factory Driver
17:Hairstyling 18:Maintenance/Construction 19:Restaurant work 20:Other_____

c. How long did you work? 1:Under 6 months 2:6 to 11 months 3:1 to 2 years 4:2 to 5 years 5:Over 5 years

d. How were you employed? 1:Full-time 2:Part-time

e. Were you receiving health insurance? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Not sure

f. What was your highest hourly wage? 1:$5 or under 2:$5.01 to $7 3:$7.01 to $9 4:$9.01 to $11 5:Over $11.0
6:Not U.S., working class wage 7:Not U.S., professional wage

g. Why did you leave your job? *(please circle all that apply)*

1:Maternity 2:Childcare/Family problems 3:Temporary/Part-time 4:Bad conditions/Didn't like boss
5:No benefits 6:Deadend job 7:Racism/Sexism 8:Laid off/Business closed 9:Injured 10:Fired 11:Better jol
12:Health/Family health 13:Went to School 14:Sexual harassment 15:Quit 16:Emmigration 17.Other_____

h. How did you find this job? *(please circle one)*

1:Friend/family 2:Training program or DPW 3:Newspaper 4:Walked in 5:Unemployment 6:Other_____

FOURTH JOB: *(No more jobs? Go to Question 17.)*

a. How old were you when you started the job?_____ What year was that?_____

b. Type of Job *(please circle one)*

1:Cashier 2:Computer/Clerical 3:Auto machanic 4:Nursing Asst./Home health care
5:LPN/RN/Medical Technician 6:Childcare 7:Maid 8:Teacher's aid 9:Security guard 10:Sales
11:Gas attendant 12:Laundry 13:Truck Driver 14:Bus matron 15:Factory worker 16:Factory Driver
17:Hairstyling 18:Maintenance/Construction 19:Restaurant work 20:Other_____

c. How long did you work? 1:Under 6 months 2:6 to 11 months 3:1 to 2 years 4:2 to 5 years 5:Over 5 years

d. How were you employed? 1:Full-time 2:Part-time

e. Were you receiving health insurance? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Not sure

f. What was your highest hourly wage? 1:$5 or under 2:$5.01 to $7 3:$7.01 to $9 4:$9.01 to $11 5:Over $11.01
6:Not U.S., working class wage 7:Not U.S., professional wage

g. Why did you leav) your job? *(please circle all that apply)*

1:Maternity 2:Childcare/Family problems 3:Temporary/Part-time 4:Bad conditions/Didn't like boss
5:No benefits 6:Deadend job 7:Racism/Sexism 8:Laid off/Business closed 9:Injured 10:Fired 11:Better jol
12:Health/Family health 13:Went to School 14:Sexual harassment 15:Quit 16:Emmigration 17:Other_____

h. How did you find this job? *(please circle one)*

1:Friend/family 2:Training program or DPW 3:Newspaper 4:Walked in 5:Unemployment 6:Other_____

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FIFTH JOB: ***(No more jobs? Go to Question 17.)***

a. How old were you when you started the job?_____ What year was that?_____

b. Type of Job ***(please circle one)***

1:Cashier 2:Computer/Clerical 3:Auto machanic 4:Nursing Asst./Home health care
5:LPN/RN/Medical Technician 6:Childcare 7:Maid 8:Teacher's aid 9:Security guard 10:Sales
11:Gas attendant 12:Laundry 13:Truck Driver 14:Bus matron 15:Factory worker 16:Factory Driver
17:Hairstyling 18:Maintenance/Construction 19:Restaurant work 20:Other_____

c. How long did you work? 1:Under 6 months 2:6 to 11 months 3:1 to 2 years 4:2 to 5 years 5:Over 5 years

d. How were you employed? 1:Full-time 2:Part-time

e. Were you receiving health insurance? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Not sure

f. What was your highest hourly wage? 1:$5 or under 2:$5.01 to $7 3:$7.01 to $9 4:$9.01 to $11 5:Over $11.0
6:Not U.S., working class wage 7:Not U.S., professional wage

g. Why did you leave your job? ***(please circle all that apply)***

1:Maternity 2:Childcare/Family problems 3:Temporary/Part-time 4:Bad conditions/Didn't like boss
5:No benefits 6:Deadend job 7:Racism/Sexism 8:Laid off/Business closed 9:Injured 10:Fired 11:Better jo
12:Health/Family health 13:Went to School 14:Sexual harassment 15:Quit 16:Emmigration 17:Other_____

h. How did you find this job? ***(please circle one)***

1:Friend/family 2:Training program or DPW 3:Newspaper 4:Walked in 5:Unemployment 6:Other_____

SIXTH JOB: ***(No more jobs? Go to Question 17.)***

a. How old were you when you started the job?_____ What year was that?_____

b. Type of Job ***(please circle one)***

1:Cashier 2:Computer/Clerical 3:Auto machanic 4:Nursing Asst./Home health care
5:LPN/RN/Medical Technician 6:Childcare 7:Maid 8:Teacher's aid 9:Security guard 10:Sales
11:Gas attendant 12:Laundry 13:Truck Driver 14:Bus matron 15:Factory worker 16:Factory Driver
17:Hairstyling 18:Maintenance/Construction 19:Restaurant work 20:Other_____

c. How long did you work? 1:Under 6 months 2:6 to 11 months 3:1 to 2 years 4:2 to 5 years 5:Over 5 years

d. How were you employed? 1:Full-time 2:Part-time

e. Were you receiving health insurance? 1:Yes 0:No 2:Not sure

f. What was your highest hourly wage? 1:$5 or under 2:$5.01 to $7 3:$7.01 to $9 4:$9.01 to $11 5:Over $11.0
6:Not U.S., working class wage 7:Not U.S., professional wage

g. Why did you leave your job? ***(please circle all that apply)***

1:Maternity 2:Childcare/Family problems 3:Temporary/Part-time 4:Bad conditions/Didn't like boss
5:No benefits 6:Deadend job 7:Racism/Sexism 8:Laid off/Business closed 9:Injured 10:Fired 11:Better jo
12:Health/Family health 13:Went to School 14:Sexual harassment 15:Quit 16:Emmigration 17:Other_____

h. How did you find this job? ***(please circle one)***

1:Friend/family 2:Training program or DPW 3:Newspaper 4:Walked in 5:Unemployment 6:Other_____

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17. What kind of problems have you had getting a job?

18. INCOME

a. What is your present source of income? ***(please circle all that apply)*** 1:welfare 2:job 3:spouse/family 4:other

b. If you are on welfare now, how long have you received it this time?

1:Under 1 year 2:1 to 3 years 3:3 to 5 years 4:5 to 10 years 5:Over 10 years

c. If you are not on welfare now, have you ever received it? 1:Yes 0:No

For how long? 1:Under 1 year 2:1 to 3 years 3:3 to 5 years 4:5 to 10 years 5:Over 10 years

d. Why did you start the program you're in now?

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